

Fall 1974

# THE MEANS TO GRACE: A STUDY OF CONVERSION IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

GEORGE JOSEPH SELEMENT

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.unh.edu/dissertation>

---

## Recommended Citation

SELEMENT, GEORGE JOSEPH, "THE MEANS TO GRACE: A STUDY OF CONVERSION IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND" (1974). *Doctoral Dissertations*. 1152.  
<https://scholars.unh.edu/dissertation/1152>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Scholarship at University of New Hampshire Scholars' Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized administrator of University of New Hampshire Scholars' Repository. For more information, please contact [nicole.hentz@unh.edu](mailto:nicole.hentz@unh.edu).

## **INFORMATION TO USERS**

**This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.**

**The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.**

- 1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.**
- 2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.**
- 3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again -- beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.**
- 4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.**
- 5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.**

### **University Microfilms International**

**300 North Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA  
St. John's Road, Tyler's Green  
High Wycombe, Bucks, England HP10 8HR**

77-17,203

SELEMENT, George Joseph, 1946-  
THE MEANS TO GRACE: A STUDY OF CONVERSION  
IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND.

University of New Hampshire, Ph.D., 1974  
History, United States

**Xerox University Microfilms**, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

THE MEANS TO GRACE:  
A STUDY OF CONVERSION IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

by

GEORGE SELEMENT  
A.B., Calvin College, 1970

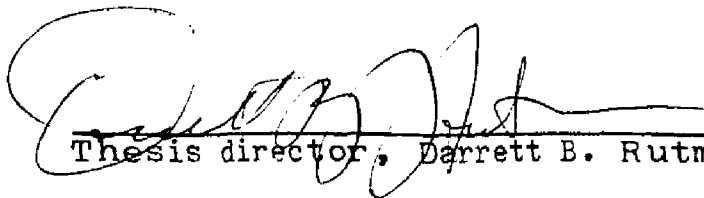
A THESIS

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire  
In Partial Fulfillment of  
The Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy  
Graduate School  
Department of History  
September, 1974



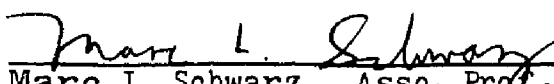
This thesis has been examined and approved.



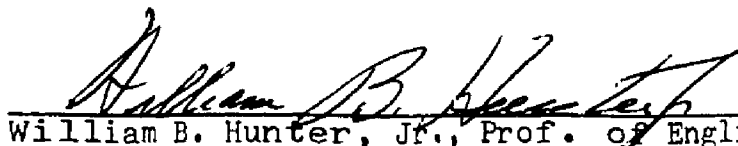
Thesis director, Darrett B. Rutman, Prof. of History



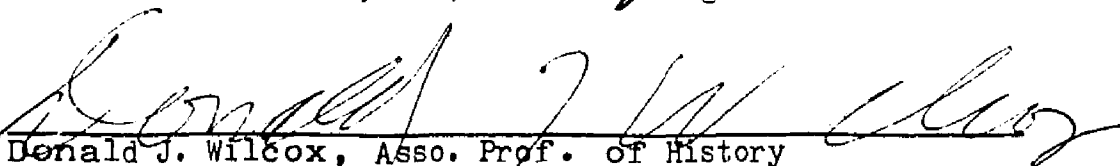
Charles E. Clark, Asso. Prof. of History



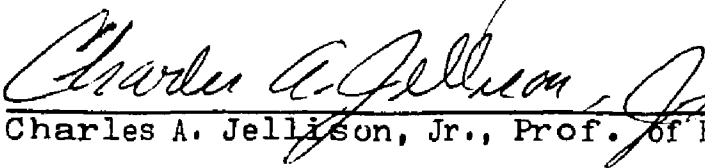
Marc L. Schwarz, Asso. Prof. of History



William B. Hunter, Jr., Prof. of English



Donald J. Wilcox, Asso. Prof. of History



Charles A. Jellison, Jr., Prof. of History

August 7, 1974  
Date

## PREFACE

My interest in Puritanism dates back to my undergraduate days at Calvin College, where George Marsden, an exemplary teacher and scholar, inspired me to investigate the subject in depth. I stumbled onto this project, however, quite by accident. I was searching for early seventeenth century manuscripts at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which I intended to transcribe in order to meet the requirements of the University of New Hampshire History Department for a special research technique in paleography, when I discovered a copy of the Confessions. They were, of course, too extensive to transcribe for the research technique. But I began to read them anyway and soon acquired a keen interest in their contents. Finding the Confessions to be an immensely valuable, but rarely consulted, source for American historians, I decided to edit them for my doctoral dissertation and for publication.

I am very grateful to the council members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society for permission to publish the Confessions. And I am especially indebted to several people who contributed directly to the preparation of the book: Darrett B. Rutman, a superb mentor and good friend, worked closely with me at every stage of the project; his wife, Anita, not only taught me how to read early seventeenth script but helped me to decipher many of the more difficult words and phrases in Shepard's crabbed

handwriting; and Charles E. Clark and William B. Hunter, both members of my doctoral committee, carefully read a final draft of the work, making many valuable editorial revisions. The staff of the Dimond Library of the University of New Hampshire, particularly Jane Block, Margaret Prescott, Diana Tebbetts, and Hugh Pritchard, helped me in many different ways and made my research in the library a pleasant experience. Above all, my wife, Karen, deserves special recognition. She has financially and psychologically supported me during seven years of higher education. She has also typed and edited every piece of work I have done since my sophomore year in college. Without Karen, this work would have never been done.

The University of New Hampshire

George Selement

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	iii
Abstract	viii
Part I: Conversion: A Case History	
Chapter I: Conversion at Cambridge	1
Chapter II: The Ideology of Conversion	20
Section i. Shepard's Ministerial Gift	21
Section ii. The Layman's Reception of Shepard's Ministerial Gift	52
Chapter III: The Psychology of Conversion	81
Part II: The Confessions of Diverse Propounded to be Received & Were Entertained as Members	
A Note on the Editing	105
Facsimile of Edward Hall's Confession	109
1. Edward Hall	110
2. Francis Moore	112
3. Elizabeth Olbon	114
4. George Willis	118
5. John Sill	120
6. Joanna Sill	127
7. Nathaniel Eaton	131
8. Christopher Cane	137

9.	Robert Daniel	138
10.	Nathaniel Sparhawk	141
11.	Mary Angier	145
12.	Robert Sanders	150
13.	John Stedman	153
14.	Jane Holmes	156
15.	Edward Collins	163
16.	John Stansby	167
17.	Barbara Cutter	171
18.	William Manning	177
19.	Katherine	185
20.	Alice Stedman	188
21.	John Trumbull	193
22.	William Andrew	198
23.	Richard Eccles	202
24.	Elizabeth Green	205
25.	Brother Jackson's Maid	206
26.	Golden Moore	209
27.	William Hamlet	212
28.	Martha Collins	218
29.	Katherine Moore	221
30.	Mary Parish	224
31.	Mrs. Crackbone	227
32.	Hannah Brewer	229
33.	Robert Holmes	230
34.	Elizabeth Cutter	232
35.	Jane Winship	234

36.	Jane Palfrey	238
37.	Ellen Green	241
38.	Henry Dunster	243
39.	John Haynes	255
40.	Edward Shepard	264
41.	John Fessenden	267
42.	Richard Cutter	270
43.	Frances Usher	275
44.	Ann Errington	277
45.	Mary Griswald	280
46.	Jane Champney	282
47.	Nicholas Wyeth	285
48.	John Jones	292
49.	John Furnell	298
50.	Unidentified	300
51.	William Ames	305
	A Bibliographical Note	310
	(Footnotes)	322

ABSTRACT

THE MEANS TO GRACE:  
A STUDY OF CONVERSION IN EARLY NEW ENGLAND

by

GEORGE SELEMENT

The dissertation consists of a fully annotated transcription of Thomas Shepard's "The Confessions of Diverse Propounded To Be Received & Were Entertayned As Members," a series of fifty-one confessions that Shepard's parishioners gave before the Cambridge congregation between 1638 and 1645 in order to be admitted into the church as members. The introduction to the "Confessions" contains a series of essays on the community of Cambridge, the soteriology of Thomas Shepard, the soteriology of his fifty-one parishioners, and the psychology of conversion.

PART I

CONVERSION: A CASE HISTORY



## CHAPTER I

### CONVERSION AT CAMBRIDGE

That to make sure of life eternal is the one necessary business that we sons of death have to do in this world, and without which all our time here is worse than lost, every enlightened mind will easily acknowledge.<sup>1</sup>

Jonathan Mitchell, a Harvard graduate and the successor whom Thomas Shepard hand-picked for his Cambridge pulpit, penned these ponderous words; but every New England minister in the seventeenth century believed and preached them. "Converting work," after all, was the "main Design" of the Reformed ministry, a view held - despite their differences upon other subjects - by all of New England's first and second-generation pastors.<sup>2</sup> Ministers might preach differing theologies of conversion but they never haggled over the fundamental point that if men were to be redeemed they had to experience a new birth.<sup>3</sup> Conversion was, as Alan Simpson rightly concluded, the very "essence of Puritanism," an experience which separated "the Puritan from the mass of mankind" and endowed him with "the privileges and duties of the elect."<sup>4</sup>

New England's first and second-generation ministers, because of their pronounced emphasis on conversion, required almost all candidates for church membership to relate publicly a confession of their experiential knowledge of saving grace. Only some women - for certain ministers (on

the basis of I Corinthians 34:14 and I Timothy 2:12) forbade the women in their congregation to speak before the entire church - and very timid men recited their confessions in private before the church's elders. Thomas Shepard approved of such confessions and insisted that everyone (man or woman) seeking membership in the Cambridge church publicly recount the way in which he came to grace. Shepard even recorded, probably as church records for the years 1637-1647, fifty-one of the confessions given before his Cambridge congregation.

Shepard's Confessions furnish posterity with an almost unique opportunity to examine in depth the "essence of Puritanism."<sup>5</sup> On an ideological level, these spiritual autobiographies offer fresh insights into New England's intellectual life, for they reveal the layman's knowledge of theology and thereby provide us with a view of conversion "from the bottom up."<sup>6</sup> For the first time, therefore, a reliable analysis can be made of the extent to which parishioners understood and remembered their pastor's sermons. Moreover, from the standpoint of understanding human behavior, the Confessions yield enough information to formulate, if only tentatively, conclusions about the psychological nature of conversion.<sup>7</sup>

Shepard's parishioners, although they willingly bared their innermost feelings before an assembly of their peers, were, for the most part, unassuming laymen merely seeking membership in the Cambridge church. In England,

almost all the men were either yeomen, tradesmen (carpenters, coopers, weavers, or glovers), or mariners. After they migrated to Cambridge their chief concern was husbandry and the improvement of their homesteads, although several of the men supplemented their agricultural income by practicing their former trades as sidelines. John Stedman even came to Cambridge in servitude, although he quickly achieved social, economic, and political independence.<sup>8</sup> Only John Haynes, an English "gentleman of great estate," and university men like Nathaniel Eaton and Henry Dunster represented the upper classes, and they, as might be expected, rose to prominence in colonial New England.<sup>9</sup> Haynes served as a Cambridge selectman, as governor of Massachusetts, and - after his removal to Hartford - as governor of Connecticut. Eaton and Dunster both held the presidency of Harvard College.

Nearly half of the Confessions were given by women.<sup>10</sup> And they, even more than the men, led commonplace lives - lives devoted to cooking, marketing, gardening, doctoring, and raising children. Two of the women (Shepard omitted their names) performed such duties as maids. In contrast, Joanna Sill and Elizabeth Green, both widows, managed their own estates. But the majority were housewives, and, as such, their lot in life was not an easy one. The epitaph of the wife of a Gloucestershire yeoman might well have been written by any of the Cambridge women:

From my sad cradle to my sable chest,  
Poor Pilgrim, I did find few months of rest.<sup>11</sup>

But whether male or female, rich or poor, master or servant, college president or cooper, governor or freeman, Shepard's parishioners all had several things in common.

First, they all settled in Newtown (called Cambridge after May 2, 1638), Massachusetts, a town situated on the Charles River about midway between Charlestown and Watertown.<sup>12</sup> The founders selected the site, judging it to be a "fit place for a fortified town," about six months after the arrival of the Winthrop fleet in 1630.<sup>13</sup> Deputy governor Thomas Dudley - in a letter written in 1631 to Lady Bridget, the Countess of Lincoln - reported the town's inception this way:

We began again in December to consult about a fit place to build a town upon, leaving all thoughts of a fort, because upon any invasion we were necessarily to lose our houses, when we should retire thereinto. So after divers meetings at Boston, Roxbury, and Waterton, on the 28th of December we grew to this resolution, to bind all the Assistants . . . to build houses at a place a mile east from Waterton, near Charles river, and next spring, and to winter there the next year; that so by our examples, and by removing the ordnance and munition thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter, to their advantage be compelled so to do; and so, if God would, a fortified town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto.<sup>14</sup>

Although "all the Assistants" agreed to build at Newtown in the spring of 1631, only Dudley and Simon Bradstreet actually fulfilled the compact.<sup>15</sup> Governor John Winthrop, having built a house at Newtown, almost moved there. Bostonians, however, implored him to remain with them; and Winthrop, who was never overly fond of Dudley's location,

decided not to move. Therefore, in the fall - without consulting Dudley or the other assistants - he had his servants dismantle the house and reassemble it in Boston, an action which destroyed Dudley's hopes of making Newtown the colony's capital and led to an acrimonious debate between Dudley and Winthrop.<sup>16</sup>

Life at Cambridge during its first few years was calm. The town's eight to ten families devoted themselves to the distribution of land (both from the colony to the town and from the town to individuals), to defense, the construction of roads, and the establishment of local government.<sup>17</sup> Soon, however, Cambridge's population increased, eventually bringing discontent into the infant community. In 1632, immigrants from Braintree, Essex - former parishioners of Thomas Hooker, an English minister silenced for his Puritanism - left Mount Wollaston, their first and temporary Massachusetts residence, and settled at Cambridge. And, because colonists from neighboring towns also moved to a more attractive Cambridge, by the end of 1633 nearly a hundred families lived there.<sup>18</sup> Such expansion, according to the Cambridge freemen, brought overcrowding. "Those of Newtown," Winthrop recorded, "complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the court to look out either for enlargement or removal."<sup>19</sup> Therefore, on May 31, 1636, a full two years after their first complaint to the General Court, many in the town opted for removal.<sup>20</sup> And it was

their departure to Connecticut that placed Shepard, who arrived with a "company" of immigrants in the fall of 1635, in his Cambridge pulpit and many of his future parishioners in their Cambridge homes:

Myself and those that came with me found many homes empty and many persons willing to sell, and here our company bought off their houses to dwell in until we should see another place fit to remove unto. But having been here some time, diverse of our brethren did desire to sit still and not to remove farther.<sup>21</sup>

Shepard's parishioners, as residents of Cambridge, naturally attended the local Congregational or Independent church, a second characteristic they all shared in common. If they had arrived a few years earlier, however, they would have found no church or meeting house in the town. Cambridge - perhaps because of its meager population - did not construct a place of worship until after the arrival of Hooker's company in 1632. In that year, according to Thomas Prince, an early eighteenth century historian and preacher, the town "built the 1st House for publick Worship," a church with "a Bell upon it."<sup>22</sup> An entry made in the town records for December 24, 1632, corroborates his undocumented history:

Impr that Every person under subscribed shall  
 [ ] Every second Monday in Every mounth  
 within [ ] meetinghouse In the Afternoone  
 within half [ ] ouer after the ringing of the  
 bell and that every [ ] that make not his  
 personall apearannce there [ ] continews ther  
 without leave from [ ] vntill the meeting bee  
 Ended shall for [ ] default xii d and if it  
 be not paid [ ] meeting then to dobl it and  
 soe vntill [ ]<sup>23</sup>

But the townsmen, because they had no minister, still had

to travel to neighboring towns in order to worship on the Sabbath. Regular services began at Cambridge only when Thomas Hooker, who came a year after his Braintree company, became their "first Pastor" in 1633.<sup>24</sup>

A full four months before Hooker and most of his congregation left for Connecticut in 1635, Shepard and "divers other good Christians" - probably including those of Hooker's congregation who remained behind - organized a new church at Cambridge. Wisely following the Bay Colony's practices in such a matter, Shepard first sought the approval of the colony's magistrates. Once given, he "sent to all the neighboring churches for their elders to give their assistance, at a certain day, at Newtown, when they should constitute their body." Accordingly, "a great assembly" gathered on the appointed day. Shepard and two others sat before the congregation in the elder's seat. The "elder" of the three led in prayer. Then Shepard prayed "with deep confession of sin" and also "opened the cause of their meeting." After a brief ministerial discussion over how many people "were needful to make a church," the ministers decided that seven would be a "fit number" and requested at least that many to "make confession of their faith, and declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them." Shepard testified first and was followed by seven others. Then, having heard the church's covenant read, they all gave their "solemn assent" to it. At the request of an elder John Cotton, teacher of the

Boston church, extended the "right hand of fellowship" to the members of the newly formed congregation. And Shepard followed up with an exhortation to the "rest of his body, about the nature of their covenant, and to stand firm to it, and commended them to the Lord in a most heavenly prayer." An elder then informed the assembly of the church's intention to select Shepard for their pastor and requested that all objections to his candidacy be submitted before his ordination. Concluding the formal ceremony, the elder thanked the churches for their participation and "so left" the Cambridge church "to the Lord."<sup>25</sup> Shepard's congregation, henceforth, enjoyed both the official sanction of the civil government and the informal approval of neighboring ministers, a recognition which guaranteed the survival of the Cambridge church and ensured that Sundays at the meetinghouse would remain as busy as ever.

The parishioners, thirdly, all shared a common interest in Thomas Shepard, the preacher whose pastoral care brought them to spiritual maturity. Shepard entered this world on November 5, 1605, on the "very hour" at which a few extremist Roman Catholics attempted to assassinate James I and all the members of his parliament. His father, William, like most Englishmen, was horrified by the Gunpowder Plot and named his infant son Thomas because he "would hardly believe that ever any such wickedness should be attempted by men against so religious and good Parliament." But Shepard cherished few other fond memories of



his English homeland. As a child, his parents, because of the plague in their home town of Towcester, shuffled him from relative to relative. When he finally returned home the boy found that his "dear mother" had died. Still worse, his father soon after, perhaps even before Thomas' return, married "another woman" - a stepmother, Shepard recalled, who "did seem not to love me but incensed my father often against me." Not even the Towcester Free School offered him asylum; there Shepard suffered under the tutelage of a crusty and cruel schoolmaster. And by the age of ten he was an orphan. Yet, though "fatherless and motherless," he seemed to enjoy living under the custody of his eldest brother, John, who sent him at "about fifteen years of age" to Emmanuel College, Cambridge University.<sup>26</sup>

Six months before taking his Master of Arts degree in 1627, Shepard began a ministerial career destined to be a stormy one. During the first three years of his ministry, Shepard held a lectureship at Earls Colne, Essex. Those early years were tranquil. But when he accepted a second post at Towcester, Northamptonshire, William Laud, Bishop of London and the director of a campaign for uniformity within the English church, barred him from the post for allegedly making Earls Colne and Towcester "seditious, factious Bedlams." Shepard remembered Laud's words of suspension this way:

I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocese, for it you do, and I hear of it, I will be upon

your back and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.

Roger Harlakenden, an affluent Nonconformist, befriended his former pastor, sheltering him for six months in the Harlakenden home. It was there that the young preacher - probably while reflecting on his ostracism - first saw "into the evil of the English ceremonies, cross, surplice, and kneeling." In 1631 Shepard became a chaplin in the family of Sir Richard Darley, of Buttercrambe, Yorkshire, a "remote and strange place" where Shepard hoped to be "far from the hearing of the malicious Bishop Laud." But only a year passed before Richard Neile, a prominent Laudean and the Archbishop of York, forced Shepard to resign his chaplaincy. Moving to Heddon, Northumberland, Shepard preached to the "saints" of that village and to "others about and in Newcastle," a nearby town. And Shepard's preparation for such sermons led him even deeper into Nonconformity, for while in Northern England he learned "more of the ceremonies, church government and estate, and the unlawful standing of bishops than in any other place." Finally, Thomas Morton, the Bishop of Durham but a man of Low-Church sympathies, reluctantly silenced Shepard for his Puritanism. "He durst not give me liberty," Shepard recalled, "because Laud had taken notice of me." Undaunted, Shepard continued to preach "up and down in the country and at last privately in Mr. Fenwick's house." In 1633, however, the harried Cambridge

graduate realized that he "had been tossed from the south to the north of England and now could go no farther" and, therefore, began to hear "a call to New England."<sup>27</sup>

After two years and one aborted voyage, Shepard and his family sailed into Boston's harbor in the fall of 1635. Henceforth Shepard's life would be different. He would work as the esteemed pastor of the Cambridge church, raise three of his four surviving sons to become ministers, serve as an overseer and the unofficial chaplain of Harvard College, defend in print New England's Congregationalism against the criticisms of English Presbyterians, publish several of his sermons, and (though once persecuted himself) suppress Antinomians and other Bay Colony dissidents. In short, Shepard exchanged his underground ministry in England for a position of authority and responsibility in Massachusetts. It is not surprising, therefore, that he described New England as "a land of peace, though a place of trial."<sup>28</sup>

For understanding the Confessions, the most important aspect of Shepard's life was the work he performed as a "soul searching minister of the gospel."<sup>29</sup> "Pastor Evangelicus," Cotton Mather called him, and rightly so for Shepard's evangelical preaching truly aroused many of his hearers.<sup>30</sup> The Cambridge pastor "awakened" Jonathan Mitchel, who described his four years "under Mr. Shepard's ministry" as heavenly: "Unless it had been four years living in heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to

bless God with wonder."<sup>31</sup> And Mitchel's case was not an exceptional one; "many a hundred soul," wrote Edward Johnson, were "saved" under the ministry of Thomas Shepard, "a man of a thousand, indued with abundance of true saving knowledge for himself and others."<sup>32</sup> At least fifty-one such people publicly testified, while living under Shepard's ministry, to having experienced the grace of God. But for those less certain of their salvation, or perhaps insincere about it, his fervent preaching was often disturbing. According to a tradition preserved by Thomas Prince, Shepard

scarce ever preached a sermon, but some or other of his congregation were struck with great distress of soul, and cried out in agony, What shall I do to be saved? Though his voice was low, yet so searching was his preaching, and so great a power attending, as a hypocrite could not easily bear it, and it seemed almost irresistible.<sup>33</sup>

The action of "one Turner of Charlestown, a man of about 50 years of age," lends some credibility to an obviously exaggerated legend. Turner, having "led a loose and disorderly life," heard one of Shepard's sermons and, being "wounded in conscience," committed suicide by drowning himself in "a little pit where was not above two feet water."<sup>34</sup> Many in Shepard's congregation, however, lived to see the passing of the renowned, emotive preacher, who died prematurely at the age of 43. "After his death," wrote one parishioner, "I thought God might just speak to me now no more."<sup>35</sup>

Finally, Shepard's parishioners - except for the seven founders of the church - all had to clear an elaborate series of ecclesiastical hurdles in order to join the Cambridge congregation. Although admission practices varied slightly from church to church, all the ministers of the Bay erected at least some barriers to church membership. According to one generalized description of the Bay Colony's admission procedures, a candidate for church membership first arranged for a semiprivate interview at the home of one of the church's elders. At that informal meeting he declared his desire to join the church and, at the elder's request, made "known unto them the worke of grace" upon his soul. If his testimony satisfied the elders and the others at the assembly - for "divers of the Church, both men and women," met there usually - one of the ruling elders formally notified the congregation of the applicant's intention to "enter into Church-fellowship with them." The elder made such a public announcement in order to provide an opportunity for any church member either to inform the elders of the candidate's "unfitnesse to joyne" the church or to testify favorably on his behalf.<sup>36</sup>

Having rectified all private and/or public "offences," if any were brought to an elder's attention, the candidate appeared in "the midst of the Assembly" with the ruling elder, who spoke in this fashion:

Brethren of this congregation, this man, or woman A.B. hath beene heretofore propounded to you, desiring to enter into Church-fellowship with us, and we have not, since

that, heard any thing from any of you to the contrary, of the parties admittance, but that we may goe on to receive him: Therefore now, if any of you know any thing against him, why he may not be admitted, you may yet speak.

If, as sometimes happened, someone objected to a candidate's admission, the "new offence" had to be heard before the elders. According to Thomas Lechford, a hostile observer of New England's Congregationalism from 1638 until 1641, such a practice often made joining a Congregational church a painful, see-saw procedure, which occasionally lasted a "space of divers moneths between a parties first propounding and receiving." If, however, nobody spoke out against the prospective member, the elder solicited the parishioners "to speak for his receiving." Lechford again:

But when none speaketh to the contrary, then some one, two, or three, or more of the Brethren speak their opinions of the party, giving instances in some godlinesse and good conversation of his, or some other recommendation is made, and that they are willing (if the Church thereto consent) for their part, to given him the right hand of fellowship.<sup>37</sup>

Once the members finished their character references, the elder asked the candidate to "make knowne to the congregation the work of grace upon his soule; and biddeth him, as briefly, and audibly, to as good as hearing as he can, to doe the same."<sup>38</sup> This confession or relation of faith was an anxious "quarter of an houre, shorter or longer," for many laymen.<sup>39</sup> Sometimes it could be terrifying. Consider the case of brother Hinsdell's wife, a candidate seeking admittance to John Allin's Dedham

congregation. She, "being fearfull & not able to speake in publike," fainted at the sound of her own voice. The church, however, after careful deliberation, permitted her to narrate her confession in private and simply confirm it on the following Sunday morning.<sup>40</sup> Eventually, such private sessions for the timid became the standard procedure in some New England churches. Lechford reported in Plain Dealings that women often gave their relations "before the Elders, in private," which the pastor (in the Boston church) subsequently read to the congregation.<sup>41</sup> And a provision of the Cambridge Platform of 1648 established - without regard to sex - the orthodoxy of the practice:

In case any through excessive fear, or other infirmity, be unable to make their personal relation of their spiritual estate in publick, it is sufficient that the Elders having received private satisfaction, make relation therof in publick before the church, they testifying their assents therunto; this being the way that tendeth most to edification. But wheras persons are of better abilityes, there it is most expedient, that they make their relations, & confessions personally with their own mouth, as David professeth of himselfe.<sup>42</sup>

Ministerial compassion, no doubt, inspired such an accommodation, but there was a deeper motivation. English clergymen, especially Presbyterians, vigorously attacked the rigorous standards set by the Bay Colony for church membership. Robert Baillie, one of the most persuasive of the Presbyterian polemicists, asserted in his A Dissuasive from the Errours of our Time (1645) that because of the

relation of faith "many thousands of people, who in former time have been reputed in Old England very good Christians," were denied membership in New England's churches.<sup>43</sup> John Cotton, however, vehemently denied that charge in his rejoinder to Baillie's pamphlet.<sup>44</sup>

Regardless of how exclusive the relation actually made church membership, there were still more requirements the candidate had to meet. Having given his relation either in public or private, the person next delivered a "profession of his faith," one which demonstrated his knowledge of Reformed doctrine and ecclesiology. And, if the party was "weake," the elders might draw out his knowledge by "questions and answers." Then the church voted by their "usuall signe," which was the "erection and extention of the right hand," on the candidate's admission. If accepted into the congregation, the candidate pledged to fulfill all the obligations required in the church's covenant, and with that he or she became a full-fledged member.<sup>45</sup>

Since the Confessions are the only extant records (except for two volumes of financial memoranda) for the earliest years of the Cambridge church, it is impossible to determine exactly the extent to which Shepard instituted the admission practices reported by Lechford and others.<sup>46</sup> Shepard, we do know, staunchly defended the New England Way against English Presbyterians - he coauthored with John Allin, of Dedham, A Defence of the Answer (1644) - and,



therefore, he shared the theoretical basis from which his Massachusetts colleagues derived their admissions procedures. Furthermore, the Confessions reveal that the Cambridge church followed at least three of the practices described by New England's chroniclers. Shepard required the candidates to "declare what work of grace the Lord had wrought in them;"<sup>47</sup> parishioners testified, as in the case of Elizabeth Green, in behalf of the applicant; and the elders - and surprisingly other church members - occasionally probed the candidate's knowledge with questions. But the Confessions also reveal that Shepard's procedures differed somewhat from those of other Bay ministers. First of all, the Cambridge pastor, unlike John Cotton, permitted or perhaps required women to recite their confessions before the congregation.<sup>48</sup> Secondly, Shepard did not compel candidates to relate two separate confessions (one of grace and one of faith), but allowed them to merge the two narrations into one speech. Only Henry Dunster, a theologian capable of fine distinctions, narrated in two distinct sections his formal knowledge of theology and "the Lord's personal dealing" with him. Thirdly, Shepard was lax in his admissions standards, a laxity which is very startling in view of the alleged severity of the Bay Colony's admission practices. One of the reasons Thomas Hooker supposedly removed to Connecticut was his disapproval of that strictness; for according to R. Stansby, the minister at Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, a rumor circulated

in England that

You are so strict in admission of members to your church, that more then one halfe are out of your church in all your congregations, & that Mr. Hoker before he went away preached against yt (as one report who hard hym).<sup>49</sup>

It is true, of course, that Hooker only required a candidate to "given a reason of his hope towards God" in order to qualify for membership in the Hartford church.<sup>50</sup> But Shepard often demanded no more. Indeed, Shepard simply did not force prospective members to demonstrate that they had closed with Christ, that is, to demonstrate a personal certainty about their salvation. John Trumbull could only say: "I thought yet there might be mercy [for me]," and Shepard admitted him to the Cambridge congregation. And Elizabeth Green qualified for church membership on even flimsier grounds than Trumbull. Probably fearful and bashful, she muttered only a few sentences and concluded her relation. Shepard, however, recorded that the "testimonies carried it." Thus, the congregation voted to admit Green because they knew - from the testimony of her friends - that she was deeply religious and, therefore, probably saved. Moreover, many other candidates, though they gave a longer confession or revealed a greater knowledge of the morphology of conversion than either Trumbull or Green, never professed to having actually closed with Christ.<sup>51</sup> The only real difference in practice, therefore, between Hooker and Shepard - and perhaps some of the other ministers of the Bay - was procedural. Hooker examined his

Hartford candidates in the privacy of his study. Shepard required his parishioners to relate their confessions before the entire Cambridge congregation.

## CHAPTER II

## THE IDEOLOGY OF CONVERSION

"If there be any hope of help," Thomas Shepard explained, "it is by the Spirit; and if by the Spirit, it is by the ministry where the gospel is published and the Spirit conveyed." None could be saved, as the apostle Paul wrote, unless they had a preacher. The gospel or the ideology of conversion, therefore, was the gift of the minister to his parishioners; Shepard made his congregation wise unto salvation. Of course, Shepard's parishioners heard other ministers - and occasionally their sermons left a profound impression on them - but, as the Confessions reveal, it was primarily Thomas Shepard who provided the theological framework by which the Cambridge laymen came to grace. Equally important, as Shepard fully recognized, the laymen had to "wait" upon the ministry. They had to receive willingly the gift of their pastor. And Shepard, no doubt, knew that distortions, modifications, and simplifications accompanied, albeit in varying degrees, the reception of his gift by the layman's theologically uneducated mind. Thus, to understand fully the ideology of conversion, both Shepard's sophisticated theology and the layman's informal comprehension of it must be compared.<sup>1</sup>

## Section i. Shepard's Ministerial Gift

As a minister steeped in the ideals of the Reformed tradition, Thomas Shepard gently, lovingly, patiently, and meekly practiced the cure of souls, nurturing his "children" like a "nurse." He was the "pastor" of the Cambridge church and in his own eyes the "great shepherd of the sheep," actively devoting himself to helping men find salvation and enter the kingdom of heaven, the latter - for Shepard - being the visible church.<sup>2</sup> Because of his pastoral stance Shepard usually eschewed preaching a systematic doctrine of conversion, technically known as soteriology, a subject perhaps beyond the comprehension of some parishioners and which, at best, only provided men with a "literal" rather than a "saving" knowledge of Christ. It was disastrous, Shepard warned in The Parable of Ten Virgins, for a man to rely on a knowledge of the intricacies of theology for salvation because, having "a form of this knowledge in his head, he may be able to express much, and make a large confession of his faith, discourse of points of controversy, in matters that concern Christ, and justification by Christ, etc., and instruct others, and yet having no more, know not all this while what the Lord Jesus is."<sup>3</sup> This biblical distinction between a "head" and "heart" knowledge of Christ, combined with Shepard's pastoral concern for the conversion of his flock, determined the unsystematic form and practical content of most of Shepard's preaching on conversion. As he declared in

the preface to The Sincere Convert:

Now, spiritual truths are either such as tend to enlarge the understanding, or such as may work chiefly upon the affections. I pass by (in this knowing age) the first of these, and, being among a people whose hearts are hard enough, I begin with the latter sort; for the understanding, although it may literally, yet it never savingly, entertains any truth, until the affections be herewith smitten and wrought upon.<sup>4</sup>

And Shepard, for the most part, remained true to this declaration. Only in The Sound Believer - his most systematic exposition of the conversion experience - did he deal extensively with the theological nuances of the conversion process. And at one point, after minutely explaining the fine points of vocation, justification, and sanctification, he felt compelled to apologize to his hearers, expressing his apprehension about being "thus large in less practical matters."<sup>5</sup>

Despite Shepard's reluctance to expound systematically the theological basis of conversion, it is still easy to detect an ideological framework in his writings, one circumscribing at every point his practical understanding and explanation of conversion. Shepard set forth his soteriology in The Sound Believer, as already noted, but it can also be found in a much more concise and simplified version in his catechisms (The First Principles of the Oracles of God and A Short Catechism) and to a lesser extent, and in a more diffused and haphazard manner, in the remainder of his works. What were the theological components of the conversion process in his mind? What were, as

Shepard metaphorically designated them, the "several stadia or towns," through which the "poor passenger" passed if he is to experience God's "manner and order of working"?<sup>6</sup>

Shepard unequivocally attributed an individual's conversion to the election of God, the initial stage in a complex theology of conversion. He did not, however, unnecessarily dwell on election in his sermons - one of several indicators which suggest that Shepard, like most Reformed ministers, believed like a Calvinist and preached like an Arminian. Nevertheless, he held that fallen men, destined for hell, could do nothing (theologically speaking) about their salvation; election was a divine act, a matter settled in heaven before the foundation of the world. God in his infinite wisdom graciously extended salvation to only a few undeserving sinners - Shepard surmised that the "number of them that shall be saved is very small."<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, subscribing to the concept of limited atonement, he preached that Christ died only for that precious few, the elect. True, Shepard conceded, there is a "universal offer to all people where the Gospel comes. Enemies are to be reconciled." But, he concluded, a "Universal offer" does not "inference an Universal Redemption." Shepard, openly concerned about the "great apostacies" of Arminianism, argued that although God made a "real" and "free" offer to all who heard the gospel, such an offer "doth not speak absolutely that Christ hath died for all, and therefore for thee, as the Arminians maintain;

but it speaks conditionally; it is for thee, if ever the Lord gives thee a heart to receive that grace there."<sup>8</sup>

Election, as taught by Shepard, inherently posed two contrasting dangers to his vision of orthodox and vital Christianity. On the one hand, among self-assured people it could foster smug complacency, a feeling of security, or a belief that, once saved, an individual's redemption was certain regardless of the debauchery of his personal behavior. Reformed ministers labeled such views Antinomianism.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, the doctrine of election weighed heavily upon conscientious individuals who feared the absence of God's saving grace in their lives.

Arminianism, because of its emphasis on the freedom and ability of the person to achieve salvation, that is, to participate himself in some way in the conversion process, appealed to people stymied by a helpless, fatalistic sense of inability. Caught between such polarized extremes, Shepard attempted to help his parishioners walk the middle way between dejection and conceit. But he did so by his preaching of a practical Christianity, not by sacrificing or diluting his belief in predestination. Shepard's homiletical method is clear; he spoke to the spiritual needs of both the lethargic and the oversensitive members of his congregation. He repeatedly warned his "secure" parishioners, those who sat comfortably week after week in their pews, against the dangers of hypocrisy and "carnal security," insisting that if they found "sloth" to be



"more sweet than Christ and all his gospel" their faith was but a "seeming" or false faith.<sup>10</sup> Yet, while stirring up the complacent to activity, Shepard also encouraged the scrupulous members of his congregation, urging them to utilize the "means" provided for earnest seekers of a genuine conversion experience:

It is true, God hath elected but few, and so the Son hath shed his blood, and died but for a few; yet this is not an excuse for thee to lie down and say, What should I seek out of myself for succor? Thou must in this case venture and try, as many men amongst us do now, who hearing of one good living fallen, twenty of them will go and seek for it . . . if I go out to Christ, I may get mercy; however, I can but die, and it is better to die at Christ's feet than in thine own puddle.<sup>11</sup>

Shepard, therefore, fully believed in election, as much as Calvin or Luther; it was the foundation, the initial stage, of his theological understanding of conversion.<sup>12</sup> And yet he, like the disciples of Arminius, exhorted men to activity, as if human effort merited salvation. But he did not in any of his sermons, as one historian has suggested, recognize that "the stark predestination of early Calvinism was too often driving the devout to distraction, and that it needed somehow to be softened."<sup>13</sup> Instead, Shepard openly preached election to his congregation, always making pragmatic applications of the doctrine according to the frailties of human nature, thereby resisting the natural tendency of predestination to lull people into either apathy or depression.

Election, in Shepard's theology, was the first act

of the conversion drama, and only the elect genuinely experienced any of the remaining acts, the second of which involved the union of the predestined with Christ. This union with Christ was the heart of conversion, the most complex step on the way to grace and the only stage at which Shepard's theological and practical preaching merged. Simply put, it was the joining of the "soul to Christ," making it "one spirit with Christ," and so giving it "possession of Christ, and right unto all the benefits and blessings of Christ."<sup>14</sup> But such union was not achieved - discovered is theologically the proper verb - with the facility endemic to modern revivalism; it was, as shown in figure one, a long complicated process, involving the work of the Holy Spirit through, first, preparation and, second, vocation.<sup>15</sup>

In preparation, the Spirit initiated the operation of uniting the soul to Christ by cutting it off from "the old Adam, or the wild olive tree" (Romans 11:23-24) through contrition, where the Spirit began "the actual deliverance of his elect," and humiliation. The Spirit accomplished the surgery of contrition by establishing in the elect, first, a conviction, and, second, a compunction for sin. Conviction was, however, much more than the recognition and assent that one was a sinner; Shepard considered such knowledge merely learned "by tradition, (in these days,) by the report and acknowledgment of every man, rather than by any special act of conviction of the Spirit of Christ." An

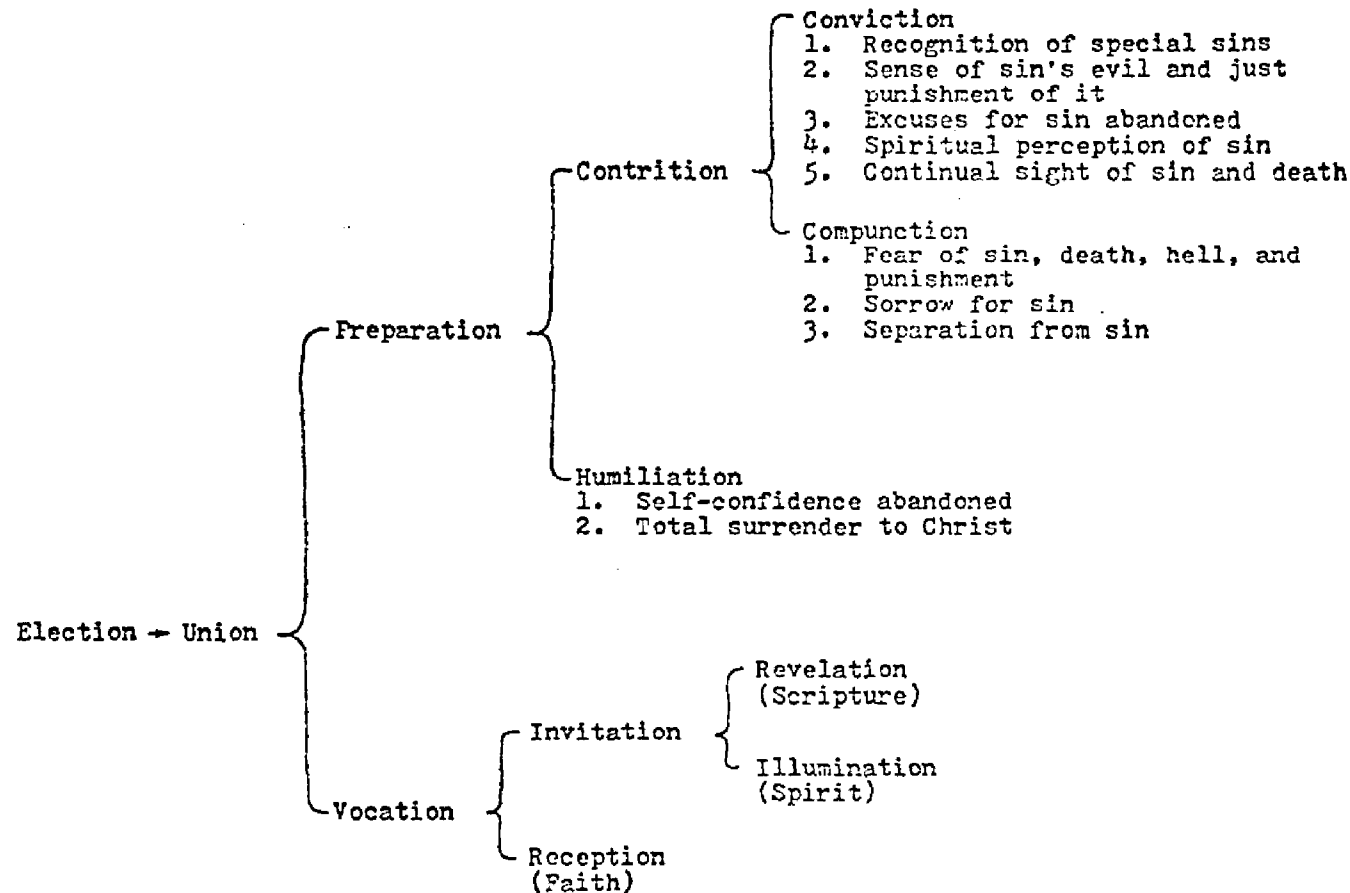


Figure 1: The First Stages of Shepard's Soteriology\*

\*Note the dichotomies associated with the logic of Petrus Ramus. See Miller, The New England Mind, 111-153; Keith L. Spunger, "Technometria: A Prologue to Puritan Theology," Journal of The History of Ideas, XXIX (1968), 115-122 and The Learned Doctor William Ames: Dutch Backgrounds of English and American Puritanism (Urbana, 1972); Walter J. Ong, Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); and David L. Parker, "Petrus Ramus and the Puritans: The 'Logic' of Preparationist Conversion Doctrine," Early American Literature, VIII (1973), 140-162.

individual, therefore, had to experience more than a "general" sense of evil and, instead, became convinced by some "sin or sins in particular." Such particular or "special" sins - of and by which the Spirit convicted an individual - varied from person to person depending on disposition, temper, and temptations. But usually (though not always), Shepard concluded, the Spirit struck at a person's most cherished vice, bringing to a man's "rememberance and consideration" his "special and most beloved sin," such as whoredom, ignorance, contempt of the gospel, neglect of secret duties, lying, or Sabbath-breaking. But regretting - even confessing - that, say, one had especially enjoyed fornication, was not enough to effect a true work of conviction. The Spirit, in addition, had to convince the now uncomfortable person of the "exceeding great evil" of fornication and of the "just punishment," namely eternal death, which proceeded from such a sin.<sup>16</sup>

The individual, even if he recognized the heinousness of his special sins, might still have fallen short of true conviction. "All knowledge," Shepard warned, "is not conviction of sin" and "all confession of sin is not conviction;" a man could recognize his particular sins, the evil of them, and the punishment due to them from a "merely rational" conviction rather than from a "spiritual" conviction. Shepard, consequently, advised his parishioners to look for three evidences of a spiritual conviction.

There had to be, first of all, a "clear, certain, and manifest light, so that the soul sees its sins, and death due to it." And the Spirit demonstrated "these things" so forcefully that "a man's mouth is stopped; he hath nothing to say but this: Behold, I am vile; I am a dead man." The spiritually convicted person, therefore, abandoned all the natural propensities for making excuses and extenuations for his sins; he stood before God "crying, O Lord, guilty, guilty." Secondly, spiritual conviction emitted "a real light" into the individual's psyche, illuminating the true nature of sin and death, one transcending the mere "notional" comprehension of sin associated with rational conviction:

The Spirit, indeed, useth argumentation in conviction; but it goeth further, and causeth the soul not only to see sin and death discursively, but also intuitively and really. Reason can see and discourse about words and propositions, and behold things by report, and to deduct one thing from another; but the Spirit makes a man see the things themselves, really wrapped up in those words. The Spirit brings spiritual things as well as notions before a man's eye; the light of the Spirit is like the light of the sun - it makes all things appear as they are.

Thirdly, a "constant light" evidenced the work of a spiritual conviction, a light whereby the soul of an individual saw "sin and death continually before it." And, if occasionally a truly convicted person grew careless, the Spirit asked: "Hast not thou gone on long enough in thy lewd courses against God, but that thou shouldest still add unto the heap"? Hence, the Holy Spirit never permitted the

spiritually convicted man to forget his clear and real vision of sin's ugliness.<sup>17</sup>

Having expounded a puristic morphology of conviction - and this only the first half of the doctrine of contrition at that - Shepard, as a pastor, realized that he may have immersed some of his flock too deeply into theological distinctions. He knew that the conscientious might say: Surely I am not saved "because I have not felt such a clear, real, constant light to see sin and death as others have done." Shepard assured such discouraged people that if they attained the "end of conviction," which simply amounted to "a true sense and feeling of sin," their estate was safe and election sure. And, for the parishioner puzzled by Shepard's scholastic hair splitting about human faculties, he offered a practical answer to the question: How does the Spirit make sin real? The "real greatness of sin," he explained, "is seen by beholding really the greatness of God, who is smitten by sin." The person, perceiving the glory of God, recognizes the heinous nature of sin and his heart, truly astonished, is affected by it. But Shepard, whose pastoral charge also made him the foe of hypocrisy, hastened to admonish the "thousands" of people with "convinced consciences," who, living under "convicting ministries," knew their "states" were "miserable and sinful" and yet had "no sense nor feeling, no sorrow nor affliction or spirit for those evils." The "very devils," Shepard lamented, "are in some respects nearer the kingdom of God"

than such hardened reprobates.<sup>18</sup>

Conviction, although requiring the farmers, merchants, and housewives under Shepard's care to undergo a rigorous and sophisticated process of introspection, constituted the first half of the requirements of contrition, which in turn was just half of the Spirit's work of preparation. Compunction, fortunately less complicated, immediately followed and complemented the Spirit's work of conviction. Its distinctive function was to prepare the "affections and will" - conviction having "principally" prepared the understanding - of the elect by the "pricking of the heart" and the "wounding of the soul" with fear and remorse for sin. Compunction consisted, Shepard explained, of three stages: fear, sorrow, and separation from sin. In the first stage, the Spirit filled the heart of a "secure sinner" with a "marvelous fear and terror of the direful displeasure of God, of death, and hell, the punishment of sin." Reason and "natural conscience" could not evoke such fears; they were supernaturally caused by the "arm of the Spirit," and, therefore, they were "clear" and "strong" fears. Once terror replaced a person's security, the Spirit prompted him to mourn sorrowfully for his sins. Day and night he wept for his corruption, confessing his vileness before God and abandoning all the pleasures of sin. Finally, such agonizing enabled the Spirit to consummate the work of compunction by separating that "close union between sin and the soul." The Spirit did not

extricate one from the "being" of sin - Shepard rejected a holiness theology of perfectionism - but delivered him from the "growing power of sin; from the will to sin, not from all sin in the will."<sup>19</sup> A man, having suffered the pangs of conviction and compunction, might still falter and slip into sin; but the Spirit, unlike a "foolish builder" who leaves an uncompleted work, continued to advance him towards the completion of his conversion experience.

Humiliation was the final preparatory stage. It shattered the individual's "high conceits and self-confidence" and left him no longer deluded by the illusion that his good works merited favor with God. The person, therefore, totally surrendered, throwing himself upon the mercy of God "to be disposed of as he pleaseth."<sup>20</sup> The Spirit performed this work "chiefly" by a fourfold revelation from the Mosaic law, the Ten Commandments. The Spirit used the law, first, to convince the person that all his righteousness, especially that derived from duties, was a "menstruous cloth, polluted with sin."<sup>21</sup> Even confession resulted in self-condemnation because of the "secret corruption" of the penitent. Secondly, through the law, a man discovered his "original corruption" and his "hellish nature," conditions which defiled all of his feigned good works. Next, the Spirit wearied the person of his "endeavors" to fulfill the law, and, thus, the individual realizing that all his labors were "only in the fire and smoke" of futility and that he was "as miserable and sinful



as ever before," conceded: "I can do nothing for God or for myself." Finally, the law revealed the "equity and justice" of a man's damnation; the Spirit thereby compelled him to conclude sadly that everyone deserves hell. Man's self-denigration, however, was not the Spirit's intent. Humiliation was but the means of driving "the soul out of itself unto Christ." And such banishment was a prerequisite for the completion of conversion, which yielded far greater joy than pride. Shepard encouraged his beleaguered parishioners by reminding them that, as the end of conviction was compunction and the end of compunction was humiliation, so the end of humiliation was faith, the capstone of union to Christ.<sup>22</sup>

Shepard briefly defined "justifying" faith as that "gracious work of the Spirit, whereby a humbled sinner receiveth Christ; or whether the whole soul cometh out of itself to Christ, for Christ and all his benefits, upon the call of Christ in his word."<sup>23</sup> Faith, therefore, resulted from "effectual vocation," which began with God's call and ended with the believer's affirmative response to that call - an invitation universally, albeit ineffectually, offered to all men through biblical revelation, and extended by the Spirit particularly, and effectually, to the elect through illumination.<sup>24</sup> All of which, for the parishioner, was not only hard to understand and complex to remember but difficult to put into practice. For if he eagerly clutched at Christ he was guilty of presumption,

and if he was overly cautious he committed the sin of rebellion.

Many a wounded sinner will be scrambling after Christ from some general reports of him, before the day and hour of God's glorious and gracious call. Now, for any to receive Christ, or to come to Christ before he is called, is presumption; to refuse Christ when called is rebellion; to come and receive when called is properly and formally faith, and that which the Scripture styles to 'obedience of faith.' (Rom. i. 5.)

Thus, the fully prepared believer had to answer God's call, evidencing true faith, at exactly the right "instant," when Christ was given "fully and freely" on God's part and taken "really and freely" on the believer's part.<sup>25</sup>

Once again, however, Shepard as a pastor was preaching a practical Arminianism, exhorting people to "come and receive when called" and speaking of their responses as if they were self-determined. But Shepard - always fearful of the possible encroachment of formal Arminianism - overtly shifted his emphasis from such practical preaching to an exposition of the doctrine of election. No person, he insisted, acquired faith in Christ unaided, as the Arminians claimed, because the Spirit was the "efficient cause or principal workman of faith" and, furthermore, the "souls of all the elect (especially when humbled)" were "of all other things, most unable to believe." "The Spirit," he continued, put "a necessity upon them" and "irresistibly" overpowered them, which was the "cause" of faith. Shepard, therefore, even in the final stage of conversion, made predestination - God's "immovable and unchangeable purpose" -

the theological key to the redemption of the lost. And he considered the dogma to be a "great consolation" to all those who felt themselves "utterly unable to believe."<sup>26</sup>

In the second stage of the Spirit's soteriological maze, which Shepard called union with Christ, the individual completed his active participation in the conversion process. For all practical purposes, he was saved. There remained, nevertheless, five additional stages, as shown in figure two, and a plethora of subsidiary elaborations in Shepard's theology of conversion. At each succeeding stage the divinity bestowed a desirable quality or condition upon the new member of the invisible church, the congregation of the elect. The benefits accrued - simultaneously (in time) but progressively (in logic) - from union with Christ were: justification: the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer and the absolution of all his guilt; reconciliation: the establishment of a peaceful harmony between the believer, God, and his fellow men; adoption: God's acceptance of the believer as a son and the extension to him of all the privileges of a son; sanctification: the renewal of the "whole" believer unto the image of God by his daily dying to sin (mortification) and daily rising to newness of life (vivification); and glorification: the believer's expectation in this life of future glory and in the next life his actual moral and physical perfection.<sup>27</sup>

The believer, having followed such a difficult, complex path to grace, was apt - especially after a

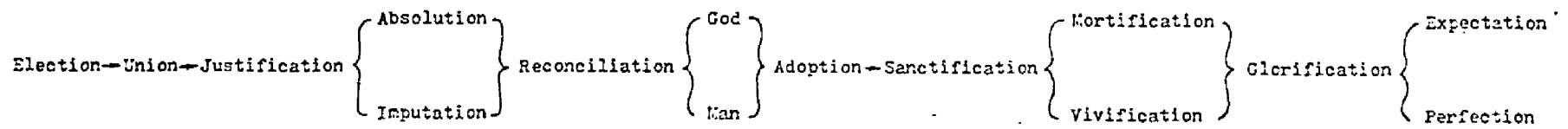


Figure 2: Shepard's Soteriology

momentary lapse into some sin - to say: "But alas. I am afraid I shall fall away from God, and that continual fear thereof doth take away all my comfort."<sup>28</sup> Shepard assured such insecure parishioners of their continued preservation by emphasizing the interrelated doctrines of election, the covenant of grace, and the work of the Holy Spirit. True saving grace, Shepard explained, never failed the believer, even when the believer failed the Lord, because of God's "eternal election and purpose."

'The Lord knows who are his,' i.e., though some men fall, that one can not tell by outward expressions and profession who are the Lord's, yet 'the Lord knows who are his,' and they are sealed by his love and knowledge.<sup>29</sup>

Election, far from a source of anxiety, provided the believer with an assurance that, once saved, he was always saved. Secondly, the vehicle through which God brought his elect to salvation guaranteed that he would sustain those whom he had chosen; the covenant of grace was God's "promise" that he would save men by their "faith" rather than by their "works." And, if saved by faith, then not even "gross scandalous sins" could "make a breach of covenant between God and the soul." Shepard concluded:

Indeed, if God's covenant of grace did (as that of works) depend upon man to fulfill the condition, having sufficient grace to fulfill it, then gross sin might well break the covenant; but seeing God hath undertaken to fulfill the covenant absolutely, notwithstanding all the evils and sins of the soul, no sin can possibly break that knot and covenant which so firm and resolute love hath once knit.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, man's utter inability to work his own salvation

became, theologically, a well of assurance. Thirdly, the Holy Spirit, the agent who carried out God's electing degrees, constantly lived in "the hearts of the saints" and kept them from forfeiting their salvation. No matter how low a believer fell, Shepard maintained, the Spirit of Christ would always be there to carry him "through all difficulties" unto eternal life. Shepard summed up the preservation of the saints succinctly: "If God's purpose is firm, his promise sure, his Spirit able, the Spirit of life and grace in the hearts of the faithful shall be kept even to eternity."<sup>31</sup>

Much has been written on the significance of covenant theology - the second part of Shepard's doctrine of preservation.<sup>32</sup> Perry Miller originated and successfully popularized the view that early New England ministers made the covenant of grace "the scaffolding and the framework for the whole edifice of theology" and the "essence of the program of salvation."<sup>33</sup> The covenant of grace - simplifying an unsimplifiable Miller - softened the determinism of predestination, enabling men to barter with God for salvation, and rendered conversion "synonymous with taking a covenant."<sup>34</sup> Miller's view, however, has not gone unchallenged. And Shepard's theology of conversion substantiates the revisions of Miller's critics. The Cambridge pastor mentioned the covenant of grace, as we have seen, as only one of three subpoints to the doctrine of preservation, and at no point in Shepard's theology did it enable men

either to bargain contractually with God for redemption or to circumvent the doctrine of predestination. Norman Pettit's conclusions, therefore, remain authoritative:

It is hard to see, however, how covenant theology was intended to supply a bargaining basis for man's relationship with God. If God granted a compact out of His own free will, it was meant as a sign of both His divine authority and His mercy. Man was not in a position to haggle for his rights; he could neither negotiate with God nor prepare for grace on the basis of negotiations. What is more, the idea of preparation was never discussed, in early Puritanism at least, as a term in a contract. To say that preparation derived solely from contractual bargaining is an oversimplification which both negates the significance of the interior life and diminishes the range of Puritan religious thought. Nor does it do justice to the role of religious experience as a guide to theological formulation. Moreover, it misinterprets the Puritans' fundamental adherence to the doctrine of divine sovereignty.<sup>35</sup>

And Shepard's morphology of conversion - election, union, justification, reconciliation, adoption, sanctification, and glorification, which is the true "essence" of the Puritan's program for salvation - is more accurately traced, as Michael McGiffert has suggested, to the tenets adopted by the Synod of Dort of 1618-1619: original sin, total depravity, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints.<sup>36</sup> These five points of seventeenth century Calvinism should be considered the "scaffolding" of Puritan soteriology; they do not, however, circumscribe the entirety of Shepard's biblical ideology. As illustrated in figure three, the canons of Dort only

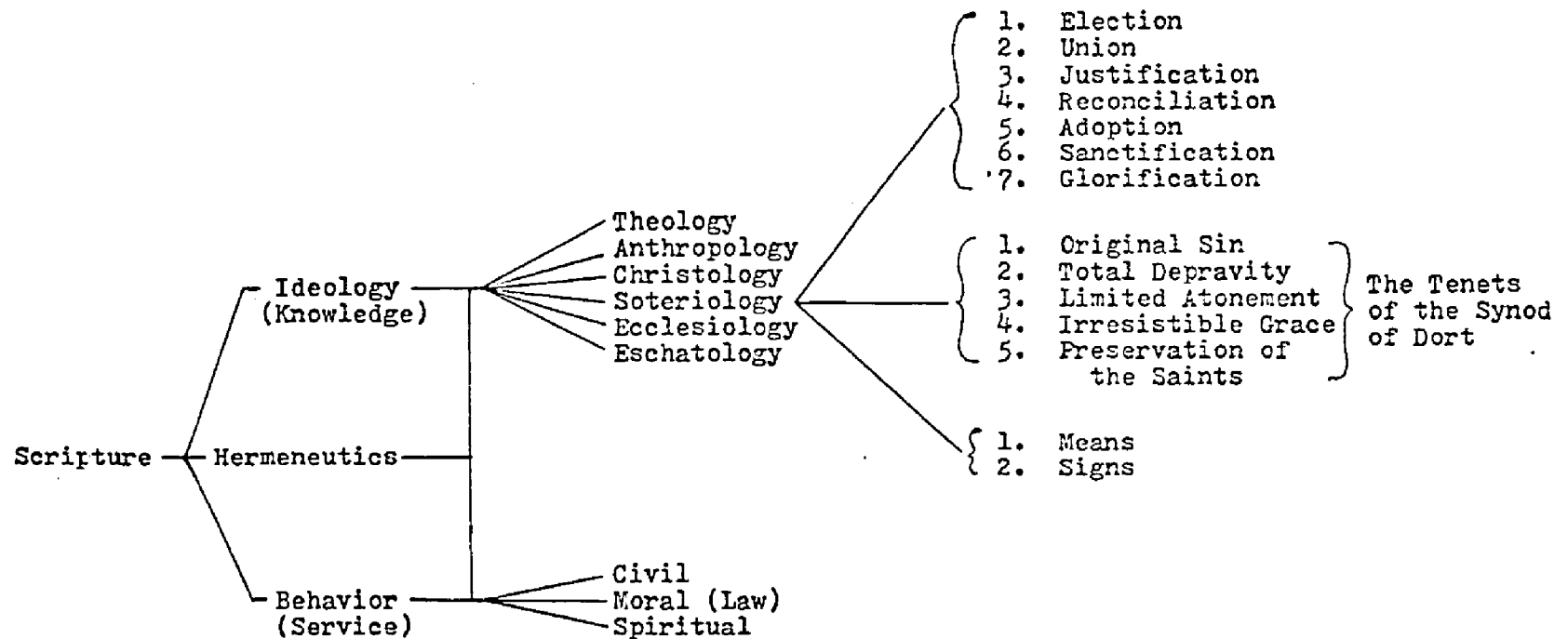


Figure 3: A Suggested Outline of Shepard's Thought



partially dealt with two sections of Shepard's theology, leaving undefined his views on God (theology), Christ (Christology), the church (ecclesiology), the doctrine of last things (eschatology), and all of Christian behavior. Miller's error lies in the subordination of all of Puritan theology to only one aspect, however important, of a complex theological system; there simply was not a single organizing principle upon which all their thought hinged.

The parishioner, even if he mastered Shepard's intricate soteriology, only knew how God saved a man and not if God had redeemed him in particular. In short, he knew at most only God's method of salvation. And the scrupulous person wanted more than a knowledge of the God's saving acts; he desired a personal assurance of his salvation. Shepard, eager to comfort and guide such ardent seekers, devoted most of his sermons on conversion to resolving the practical questions: What can I do to achieve union with Christ and thereby be truly saved? How do I know my efforts will result in a genuine conversion? The answers did not come easily for the Cambridge pastor. He encountered difficulty because, in the final analysis, a man's redemption depended on the arbitrary will of an electing God. True, once saved a man was always saved. Election provided that assurance. But Shepard's deity, although not capricious, was mysterious; he had chosen the elect for inscrutable reasons known only to himself. The informed parishioner, therefore, realized that he could

never earn his salvation - Adam spoiled the covenant of works - or ever uncover any reason why he might be the recipient of divine favor. He was simply at the mercy of the almighty. How then was he to determine if he was among the elect? All the believer could do, according to Shepard, was to pursue diligently the divinely appointed "means" for salvation and assurance and, for further proof, introspectively search for the "signs" or "evidences" that God had performed a work of grace in his life.

Object[ion]. Alas. what can I do? the Lord must do it.

Ans[wer]. True; but he doth it by means, the ministry of the gospel; else what need there be any Scripture writ, or gospel preached? Use you the means, and wait on the Lord thereby, for the effecting of this.<sup>37</sup>

The doctrine of means, therefore, kept the believer from becoming a passive, perhaps indifferent, receptacle of divine activity; he had the obligation to participate in the supernatural operation, even if he could not influence the outcome. Shepard exhorted a man to pray, not because he was any "more able to prepare himself for glory than to appoint and elect himself thereunto," but because it was "a means appointed of God to execute his eternal purposes of grace unto the vessels of grace."<sup>38</sup> But the means did more than honor the divinity. They also enabled the believer to achieve an assurance of his salvation, in Shepard's terms, to make his calling, election, and the love of Christ sure.

Shepard nowhere elaborated a systematic doctrine of means. It is found, almost exclusively, scattered randomly

throughout his most voluminous book, The Parable of Ten Virgins, a series of weekly sermons that Shepard preached from June of 1636 until May of 1640 and devoted to the practical side of conversion. Nevertheless, the attentive parishioner could have learned the means available for closing with Christ and acquiring assurance.

The means for union or closing with Christ were reducible to two phases, although Shepard - because of his unsystematic approach to the subject - never simplified the procedure by making such a dichotomy. The first stage enabled a person to achieve what Shepard in his formal soteriology called conviction, compunction, and humiliation; simply put, the individual, utilizing the appropriate means, decimated his self-reliance and self-love. He accomplished the feat by mourning for his "corrupt principles," according to Shepard, the motivation of all natural, human behavior. But such mourning, as in contrition, was more than merely being sorry for one's misbehavior. A man, in one wholistic act, had to see (intellect) his evil, feel (emotion) his evil, and mourn (will) his evil.

When a man sees that in every thing he is carried and acted by a principle of bitterness against the Lord, and lives without the Spirit of the Lord to act him, the Lord is not far from that soul when he feels this, and mourns before the Lord because of this, and the want of that.<sup>39</sup>

The believer, if he discovered the slightest thought or knowledge of his miserable estate, was then to think of it, make much of it, and thank Christ for the Spirit's

illumination. But, if Christ withheld his grace, the person still faithfully applied the means. In fact, a humble submission to divine sovereignty was itself a means to grace. As in his soteriology, the paradox of election appeared in Shepard's explication of how to use the means:

Quest[ion]. What if I find not these things  
in my soul?

Ans[wer]. Mourn then.

Object[ion]. What if I can not?

Ans[wer]. Then muse on thy misery.

Object[ion]. But I can not.

Ans[wer]. Then hear what the Lord will  
speak.

Quest[ion]. What if he helps not?

Ans[wer]. Thou art unworthy, thou art  
his clay, he may and will do  
what he will.<sup>40</sup>

Comprehending fully the vitiation of a life of sin, the believer, through the proper means, exchanged his debased character and impotent efforts for the perfection extant in Christ. He accomplished the trade by relinquishing himself (head, heart, tongue, body, and soul), his sin, his desires (honor, pleasure, profit, and life), and his spurious righteousness to Christ. The believer - by fulfilling such "terms" or "conditions" - emptied himself, allowing Christ to enter into his life and forgive, enlighten, save, enrich, and bless him.<sup>41</sup>

The second phase of closing with Christ enabled the person to acquire faith. The means he used, in general, required an unwavering dependence upon the atoning work of Christ. A man might perceive, by mourning, the depths of his vileness, but it was not enough to save him; only a total reliance on Christ's blood truly redeemed him.

Many a man feels a blind, dead heart, and all duties dead; and hence uses many persuasions to himself, yet they continue so still, because he never looks to this blood. There is excellency in Christ's blood, not only to cleanse from guilt and power of sin, but from dead works, and none else can.

How exactly did the parishioner acquire faith in Christ's atonement? What were the specific means to faith? He prized, above all, the blood of Christ, and it alone satisfied his longings for absolution. "Choose it," Shepard exhorted, "and rest in it, in the Lord himself as sufficient." Shepard then advised the believer never to be content with any "measure" of Christ's saving grace. Although satiated, the believer called "ever for more." Shepard, once again, momentarily injected a few lines of practical Arminianism and chided the slothful: "Do not say, I can do nothing, and so the Lord must do all; do not say, I have a dead heart, and can do nothing, but stir it up." Yet, he quickly balanced his exhortation with a warning to "act only from the Spirit of grace." The parishioner, Shepard explained, insured the proper source of his behavior if he remembered the glory of Christ, that is, the excellency of his person, and that "'he has quickened you,' (Eph. ii. 4, 5;)." The believer also firmly resolved never to desist from seeking salvation; he pursued the Lord until he granted faith. But he waited on Christ "quietly," expecting a time to come "when it will be better." If all such means failed, the parishioner - whether he thought himself eventually to be saved or damned - devoted himself

to pleasing the Lord and doing his will; this "fetched" faith, Shepard concluded.<sup>42</sup>

The parishioner, who used the means to close with Christ, did not necessarily solve his problem of assurance. True, he may have subdued his beloved pride by recognizing the inadequacies of his humanity before an offended deity. And he may have even looked to Christ's blood for redemption. Yet, the questions lingered: Did I really or only seemingly apply the means to close with Christ? How can I be sure Christ is mine?<sup>43</sup>

Shepard exegetically or eisegetically, depending on one's interpretation, discovered another set of means to "quicken up all those doubting, drooping, yet sincere hearts that much question the love of Christ to them," means by which they could make their "calling, and election, and the love of Christ sure."<sup>44</sup> Shepard, of course, admitted that only the Spirit irrevocably allayed a man's fears:

Though I do not exclude the work of sanctified reason from the witness of the Spirit, yet this I say, that all the men in the world, nor all the wisdom and reason of men, can never chase away all fears, scatter all mists, till the Spirit itself saith, Peace, and be still, and puts its hand and seal to the evidence.<sup>45</sup>

But the Spirit, Shepard insisted, never intended the elect to "sit idle and dream of the Spirit, but to use all diligence to make it sure." Hence, Shepard argued that the "immediate witness" of the Spirit usually proceeded from the employment of certain means. They were sevenfold.

Initially, the person inquired whether the Lord loved him for "his own everlasting name's sake or no." If so, the individual discovered himself pleading for his personal desires in the name of the Lord; but he made such requests only to advance Christ's purposes. Thus, the will of the person and the will of Christ merged. Second, the believer, shunning the temptation to enhance his role in conversion, refrained from mingling the covenants of works and grace. Instead, he dispelled his doubts by recalling that Christ's atonement covered all his sins and breaches of the law. Third, the person experienced his "purest and deepest" love for Christ when he temporarily departed. As in the case of close friends, the believer longed for Christ most of all in his absence. Shepard then encouraged his parishioners to think of the "tender-heartedness" of Christ. Too many people, he warned, harbored a "hard opinion" of Christ by fearing that he would not save them. Next, Shepard exhorted the believer to cast aside his fears, especially when such anxieties separated him from Christ's fellowship. If fears still persisted after the applications of these five means, Shepard urged the parishioner to examine himself for a sin or "some guile of spirit" which would creep into his life if he had an assurance of God's love. Once confessed, the Spirit would no longer withhold assurance. Finally, the Cambridge pastor exhorted the doubting, hesitant person, whatever else, to bring his heart to a "strait," either rejecting or receiving the

Lord's grace. An individual, however sincere, simply could not indefinitely postpone his assurance of salvation; such overscrupulousness grieved the Holy Spirit.<sup>46</sup>

If the means to assurance failed to comfort the parishioner - and, given their passive nature or character, they probably often did fail - there remained one other avenue to assurance. The believer introspectively searched for the "signs" or "evidences" of his closing with Christ. Shepard, as with the doctrine of means, never systematically outlined a series of signs for identifying true grace. The signs, like the means, randomly appeared as subpoints to broader considerations in his works. And - because of Shepard's pastoral commitment neither to "damp the faith of the elect" nor to "patronize the sloth of the wicked" - he often presented the signs negatively in order to expose the alleged widespread hypocrisy in New England.<sup>47</sup> In this vein, Shepard especially focused on the identifying marks of "evangelical" or "gospel" hypocrites. They were church members, usually sincere, who confessed their sins, fellowshipped with Christ, forsook the world, and longed for the second coming. But they did everything falsely, because they only had the "notions" of such things in their heads and not the "power" of them in their hearts, accepting "shows for the substance."<sup>48</sup>

Nevertheless, there were several signs, offered positively, which, if the believer located them in himself, enabled him to say: I know that I am saved and part of the



elect. Some of them were uncomplicated and likely to provide the parishioner with a measure of assurance. If a person continually (until the "grave") mourned because of his ignorance of Christ; if he gladly forfeited the world and laid all at Christ's feet; if he was vile in his own eyes; and if he progressively apprehended Christ's glory, love, and mind; then he could be reasonably sure of his election.<sup>49</sup> Sanctification, properly understood, was also a reliable, and not too complicated, evidence of grace.

Although sanctification be no part of our righteousness before God, and in this sense is no evidence of our justification, yet there is scarce any clearer truth in all the Scripture than this, viz., that it is evidence that a man is in a justified estate.<sup>50</sup>

Shepard emphasized the point because his view was under attack both at home and abroad. Before their expulsion from Massachusetts, Anne Hutchinson and other Bostonians, dubbed Antinomians, had insisted that sanctification was no true evidence of salvation. They asserted, instead, that the "immediate testimony of God's Spirit" was the only sign of grace.<sup>51</sup> Although the Bay ministers rapidly squelched the local "heretics," they still confronted similar opinions advanced by certain English divines, such as Tobias Crisp, John Saltmarsh, and Henry Denne, who considered sanctification a "doubtful evidence" or a "carnal and inferior evidence." Shepard countered such ministerial critics by asking:

If to be under the power and dominion of sin and original corruption be a sure and certain

evidence of actual condemnation, so that he that saith he knows Christ and hath fellowship with him, and yet walks in darkness, and keeps not his commandments, is a liar, (1 John i. 6; ii. 4,) why may not sanctification then (whereby we are set free from the power of sin) be a sure and certain evidence of our actual justification?<sup>52</sup>

Performing duties or good works was one important form of sanctified behavior; and, although duties were not the "causes" of salvation, they were the "tokens" or "pledges" of it. But here, in contrast to the other signs, the seeker of assurance had to tread with care. There were at least eleven "degrees" of "resting in duties," and all of them impaired rather than promoted a man's redemption.<sup>53</sup> Even trickier was the matter of assurance itself - paradoxically, both a sign and the object of all the signs. If the parishioner felt assured of his salvation, then he might be a hypocrite and one of the damned. Three things that "God's people seek for, and find not, if the Lord intends good to them," Shepard affirmed: grace, strength and peace. "The famine of the spirit," the Cambridge pastor continued, "is to last long." Every true believer, even the most "flourishing trees in God's house," had their "winter season" of emptiness and doubt, an experience mystics called the "dark night of the soul."<sup>54</sup> Shepard stressed such a dismal sign because he believed that "carnal security" or "sloth" was the strongest and last sin to overcome the saint and sinner alike:

Now sloth is the last thing that takes hold upon them, and this is sweet; what is the

honor of men? What is the base world? now  
sloth and sleep it sweet.<sup>55</sup>

Hence, every believer maintained a delicate balance in his quest for an assurance of salvation. On the one hand, he used the means and looked for the signs to make his calling and election sure. Not to find some manifestations of grace witnessed ill of the person's spiritual condition. On the other hand, he never finished the quest until his death. Every successful application of the means and each newly discovered sign was only, however welcome, another spur to further activity. The life of a believer was not easy in Shepard's view; indeed, Shepard informed his parishioners that they must live at a "high pitch," ever seeking Christ. Hypocrites fell by the wayside, but the saints - because the Lord tied their "souls with a knot of faith and love" - persevered to the end.<sup>56</sup>

## Section ii.

## The Layman's Reception of Shepard's Ministerial Gift

If the "stark predestination of early Calvinism," and as we have seen of Thomas Shepard, "was too often driving the devout to distraction," as one historian has written, the Cambridge laymen were exceptional; almost universally they were untroubled by that dogma.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Nathaniel Eaton's matter-of-fact attitude that "none could come to Christ unless the Father did draw him" typified the feelings of the overwhelming majority of Shepard's parishioners.<sup>2</sup> They unwaveringly, and at least without overt anxiety, accepted the doctrine of election. Even those few laymen who agonized over the uncertainties of predestination avoided prolonged distraction and willingly accepted the orthodox solutions to their problem. They turned to neither Arminianism nor Antinomianism. And, regarding the Miller thesis, they never invoked covenant theology to bargain contractually with God. Instead, utilizing various rationalizations, they reconciled themselves to the fact of divine selection. The few cases involving apprehension over election are instructive. Joanna Sill "found it hard if the Lord should damn her and never show mercy," but she was willing "to be content." The Lord, therefore, "in some measure subdued her cursed will to lie at [the] feet of mercy" and enabled her to say: "Let him do what he would." Mary Angier also achieved a

humble submission to divine sovereignty:

Some scriptures brought me to submit to the Lord, being hard to submit to the condemning will of God, Isaiah 30: The Egyptians help in vain but thy strength is to sit still. I saw I had nothing by quarreling but [did] by being contented. And [she thought] she was the clay and [the] Lord her potter, and so [the] Lord calmed her heart. And so in [the] same chapter - in returning and rest shall be your rest - [she decided], by leaving her soul with the Lord, [to] let him do what he will, and thus the Lord gave her a contentedness of spirit.

One of his "scruples," according to an unidentified confessor, concerned predestination; such a doctrine, he thought, made it a "vain thing to try." He held that view until, "by the means of a poor man," he heard that a man might have "comfortable persuasions" of his election. A sign provided him with that comfort, for he discovered in "his heart a readiness to forsake his sins and fly to Christ and his blood." Martha Collins, at first, was "beaten off from offers of mercy" by thoughts of whether she was "elected or no." But, hearing "it is not in man to divine his ways," she abandoned her "objections against inability." Finally, William Ames, the son of the eminent covenant theologian, acknowledged that Satan tempted him about his election, suggesting that he "was not elected" and that it was "in vain" for him to seek salvation. As with Collins, Ames simply concluded that election was "a secret to be left with God"; Ames confessed that he needed only to "attend upon him in his own way." Such cases demonstrate that Shepard's parishioners, although

temporarily disturbed, were far from acute distraction. More importantly, the parishioners relieved their distress by accepting election and resigning themselves to the good will of the divinity. The troubled laymen neither embraced heresy nor flirted with any type of theological escapism, such as using covenant theology to soften the inherent determinism of election. It must be emphasized, however, that the majority of Shepard's congregation expressed no anguish over election and, like Francis Usher, imitated Christ's prayer on the Mount of Olives: "not my will, but thine."

Troubled or not, Shepard's parishioners either explicitly or implicitly attributed their salvation to God's election; it was, as for their pastor, fundamental to their understanding of the conversion process. As shown, some of them, such as Eaton and Usher, openly but without anxiety exhibited their belief in predestination. Christopher Cane also expressed such an opinion:

And, hearing that Christ foresaw all [the] elects' sins past and to come, and that they were all charged on him, hearing this, I thought unless this was for me I was undone.

Other laymen, as in the cases of Sill, Angier, Collins, Ames, and the unidentified narrator, although momentarily unnerved by the doctrine, uncompromisingly adhered to its validity. Most of the parishioners, however, only indirectly revealed their belief in election. For instance, John Jones' declaration that the "Lord would find out such [as were his], tho [it took a] a long time" skirted pre-

destination without actually naming the doctrine. But the most common reflection of a widespread belief in election appeared in the "promises" of redemption that Shepard's laymen embraced. Often, but not always, they relied on a passive - that is, God-centered - scripture verse rather than on an active or man-oriented passage; they quoted Matthew 18:11 ("For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost.") much more than John 3:16 ("For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."). The parishioners, by reciting Matthew, emphasized that God sought them, providing their Cambridge peers with an evidence of their election or, at least, proof of their orthodoxy. Edward Hall, for example, reported that "then that promise was opened: the son of man came to seek that which was lost" and optimistically concluded that "he did not know, but the Lord might seek him." Election - in one way or another - permeated the lay view of conversion; it was the theological foundation of their understanding of redemption. On that point Shepard and his congregation shared a common soteriology.

The Cambridge pastor and his parishioners were also like-minded on the significance of the believer's union with Christ, the second phase of Shepard's complex soteriology, but with two important differences. Shepard's presentation of the doctrine proceed logically through several stages of, first, preparation, and, second,

vocation. The laymen in a hit-and-miss fashion mentioned a point or two, occasionally several details, regarding their preparation and vocation. But they made no attempt to reproduce, as to organization or completeness, their pastor's complicated teachings on union with Christ. Shepard, furthermore, labeled the various phases and subdivisions of the believer's union with Christ. His parishioners usually omitted their pastor's formal terminology. Some, it is true, mentioned preparation, contrition, conviction, and humiliation in their confession. Yet, they were atypical. And, although a few employed the labels, they seldom defined carefully such technical expressions. As might be guessed, the confessions provide an informal unorganized, and incomplete reflection of Shepard's preaching concerning the believer's union with Christ.

The disparity between Shepard's methodical presentation of a person's union with Christ and the layman's rough-and-ready understanding of it might easily be attributed to the intrinsic differences between an educated theologian and an unlettered merchant or housewife. No doubt university training accounted for some of the variance in thought between pastor and parishioner. But there are other possibilities equally important by which such diversities can be explained. The laymen bared publically - either in front of the whole congregation or before a group of elders - their faults and personal



encounters with God. And they did so, probably without notes, under the pressure of speaking continuously and with at least some appearance of spontaneity. After all, who would be unembarrassed by an extended pause, even if to better organize one's thoughts, in a public oration? Indeed, under such circumstances it would be surprising if most people were not like Nathaniel Sparhawk, who admitted that he could not remember many things when he came to express himself. Beyond such practical considerations, Shepard had warned his congregation against relying on a knowledge of the intricacies of formal theology for salvation. He encouraged them to cultivate a "heart" knowledge, that is, one which transformed the affections, rather than a mere "head" or intellectual understanding of redemption. Thus, Shepard's parishioners, heeding their minister's exhortations, quite naturally avoided an exposition of formal soteriology and devoted their relations to explaining the way in which God personally dealt with them. Such an ideological consideration accounts for the uniquely twofold confession of Henry Dunster, a Cambridge graduate, minister, and candidate for the presidency of Harvard College. Dunster, as a scholar, preacher, and community leader, felt obligated to recite, probably as a form of instruction, his creedal orthodoxy, a theology, incidentally, very similar to the thought of William Ames.<sup>3</sup> Having instructed the congregation, Dunster then - like any other recipient of divine grace - related the "Lord's

personal dealing" with him. Shepard's other parishioners, all laymen except for Nathaniel Eaton, experienced no need to establish their proficiency in theology and, from the very outset, gave themselves to demonstrating that God had personally touched and transformed their lives.

The abbreviated and unstructured form of the confessions only reflected the circumstantial plight and ideological commitment of Shepard's parishioners; it did not indicate any failure to understand and recall, in practical terms, their pastor's specific instruction regarding union with Christ. On the contrary, the combined testimony of the candidates reveals that they invoked several times every pertinent aspect of Shepard's teaching concerning an individual's union with Christ. Indeed, a conceptual, although not a linguistic, reproduction of the second phase of Shepard's soteriology emerges from the confessions.

Consider preparation, the initial step in the union of the believer and Christ. Although the laymen rarely invoked Shepard's terminology of contrition, conviction, compunction, and humiliation, their relations mirrored the content of those conceptions. Regarding conviction, the parishioners reproduced Shepard's fivefold explanation of the doctrine. They recognized, first of all, their own special sins, compiling a virtual catalogue of iniquity: Sabbath breaking, worldliness, bad company keeping, drunkenness, lust, adultery, unbelief, pride, swearing,

theft, price gouging, lying, persecution of Christians, carelessness, and an inordinate love of human learning. It was, however, no coincidence that the desecration of the Sabbath was one of the most commonly confessed offenses. As M. M. Knappen observed, Sabbatarianism was the "first and perhaps the only important English contribution to the development of Reformed theology in the first century of its history."<sup>4</sup> And it was an important part of Shepard's ministerial gift, for - as a product of Tudor Puritanism - he devoted his major work, Theses Sabbaticae, to expounding the doctrine of the Sabbath. Secondly, many in the Cambridge congregation acknowledged the evil of their sins and the just punishment due to them. Elizabeth Olbon, for example, spoke of the "bitterness of sin we brought into the world" and, for a time, considered it "impossible" that so "poor a creature should be saved or received to mercy." Finally, Shepard's flock, without exception, met two of the three criteria for a spiritual, as opposed to a merely rational, conviction; nobody made any excuses for his sins and everyone maintained a continual vision of his own wickedness. But each neglected, almost universally, the remaining aspect of a true spiritual conviction. Only John Haynes, perhaps because of his acute introspection, testified that "one must be sensible of his oppressed condition" not only in his "judgement" but in his "heart." Many candidates, applying Shepard's practical explanation of conviction, evidenced their "true sense and feeling of

sin" by describing their condition as miserable, undone, condemned, unclean, vile, foolish, lamentable or carnal. Laymen employed such language to demonstrate that, although they might be ignorant of the nuances of soteriology, they were genuine penitents.

Although compunction was not part of the lay vocabulary, Shepard's parishioners certainly grasped the concepts associated with it. They often expressed their fear of death and hell: Martha Collins declared that only "one paper wall" separated her from hellfire, a realization that "somewhat affected" her heart, and Jane Winship was "afraid to die," fearing she would "forever lie" under the wrath of God. Sorrow for sin also regularly appeared in the confessions. "I found," confessed Jane Holmes, "that my grief was that sin parted between me and God," just as sin "oppressed" the "spirit" of John Trumbull and saddened the "heart" of John Fessenden. And, lastly, many of the laymen separated themselves from evil, resolving, like William Andrew, "against every known sin."

Candidates mentioned humiliation, the final phase of preparation, more than any other term in Shepard's formal soteriology; many parishioners acknowledged their need to be "humbled" - a matter, according to Shepard, of forfeiting all their self-reliance and abandoning themselves to God "to be disposed of as he pleaseth."<sup>5</sup> John Jones' confession characterized the general statements regarding humility:

And I saw it was just for the Lord to deny mercy to me, that [i.e., who] had refused instruction so often. It was a pretty [long] while that I was bound up in these fears. And, tho I did seek to get [a] remedy of [i.e., for] these fears, yet I saw not the way. I saw no way but to humble myself before God, the person offended.

Mary Angier's disclosure - that by leaving "her soul with the Lord" to let "him do what he will" she found a "contentedness of spirit" - typified the thought of those laymen who had a more precise, and theologically more accurate, discernment of the doctrine. Other laymen exhibited a similar depth of comprehension by referring to one or more of the four revelations that Shepard ascribed to the Mosaic law: Edward Hall relinquished his trust in duties, regretting that he had "made them his Christ"; Richard Jackson's maid confessed her "original corruption"; George Willows recognized the futility of endeavoring to fulfill the law and admitted that the more he resisted "corruption the more he was overcome by corruption"; and William Hamlet proclaimed how "justly" God might "require of all creatures [the] power to fulfill his law." Therefore, humiliation - whether expressed simply by name or by a deeper theological understanding - was an important part of lay soteriology and, when combined with their knowledge of conviction and compunction, demonstrates that the Cambridge congregation comprehended, albeit informally, unsystematically, and incompletely, Shepard's ministerial gift of preparation.

As with preparation, the layman's grasp of vocation, the final phase of the believer's union with Christ, was unsophisticated but conceptually sound. Formal terminology, such as effective vocation, revelation, illumination, presumption, rebellion, and faith, as usual, appeared infrequently in the confessions. But Shepard's parishioners knew that they had to respond to the call of God - revealed in the Bible, God's literal word, and offered through the ministry of the Holy Spirit - without undue confidence of unnecessary hesitation. In practice, however, laymen reduced their knowledge of vocation to what some, like William Manning, called laying "hold of a promise," which simply amounted to identifying the call of God with an individual's reading or hearing of one or more Bible verses. Edward Collins' relation provides a clear example of this practice:

And there I took notice of [the] covenant that it was free and saw promises made to such dispositions [as] to [the] lost, to weak, hungry, thirsty, and to such as were [the] confessors and forsakers of sin. And hence I thought Jesus Christ was mine, and so it stayed my heart.

Parishioners drew their promises from both the Old and New Testament, supporting Kenneth Murdock's contention that the Puritans considered both Testaments as "equally authoritative."<sup>6</sup> The Gospels, particularly Matthew and John, and the prophetic works, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, were the books most frequently cited by the Cambridge congregation. Often parishioners mentioned

several passages, usually drawn from both Testaments, to demonstrate that they had personally experienced the call of God to come in faith, as in the case of Robert Sanders:

And much ado I had to live by faith but [was encouraged], hearing those scriptures: look to me all ends of the earth, whoever will let him drink of the water of life freely, so come to me you that are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest, and so blessed are the poor in spirit, where I saw my emptiness and fullness in Christ to depend on him.

Such quotations, especially when taken out of the context of the whole confession, have a ring of practical Arminianism about them. But Shepard's parishioners, as shown earlier, accepted the doctrine of election. Therefore, it is not surprising that for every "whoever will" type of verse quoted it is possible to juxtapose, often in the same relation, on Isaiah 40:29: "He giveth power to the faint; and to them that have no might he increaseth strength." And, furthermore, the laymen knew from Shepard's preaching that a "Universal offer" did not "inferre an Universal Redemption" and that only the elect could actually "close" with scriptural promises.<sup>7</sup> Such a knowledge, for example, emerged in the confession of Barbara Cutter. Someone asked her how she knew the Lord's biblical promises applied to her. Reflecting Shepard's belief that only the Holy Spirit truly convinced the believer of his election or salvation, she declared that she was "more sure" than if "named there" because the "Lord by his Spirit would boot" it to her soul. Like the paradoxical sermons of their pastor, the parishioners occasionally slipped into

a practical Arminianism, but they always qualified - at some point in their relation - such statements by an explicit or implicit assertion concerning their belief in election.

Unlike Edward Collins, Barbara Cutter, and more than a dozen others, who expressed an assurance about their closing with Christ in a promise, many of the candidates never testified in a definite way about their union with the Savior. In fact, a few, like John Trumbull, offered no evidence at all of having closed with Christ. Most of the parishioners, however, followed neither the example of Edward Collins nor that of John Trumbull. Instead, they testified to only a partial closing, an unconsumated union, with Christ. Jane Champney, for instance, thought there "might be mercy" for her and that she "should be drawn" to Christ. But her hopes for a perfected union receded, and she ended her confession by declaring herself "lost and unaffected." Jane Winship also advanced towards an alliance with Christ and, in contrast to Champney's relation, concluded her confession optimistically; she was "stayed," which meant comforted or assured, by hearing: "Trust in [the] Lord forever, for there is everlasting strength." Such cases - and the laymen's understanding of vocation in general - suggest that Shepard's parishioners, for the most part, understood and accepted his ministerial gift of union with Christ. And they usually attempted, albeit imperfectly in many cases, to implement experientially the teaching into



their personal, religious lives.

Having demonstrated at least a partial preparation for and union with Christ, the candidates for all practical purposes had provided sufficient proof of their membership in the invisible church, the celestial congregation of the elect, and thereby qualified to join the Cambridge church, a particular congregation of those believed to be among the elect. It is not surprising, therefore, that the parishioners normally did not delve further into the obscurer and less practical aspects of Shepard's soteriology, namely: justification, reconciliation, adoption, sanctification, and glorification. Such divine acts - bestowed gratuitously upon the believer by a sovereign deity - resulted from a person's union with Christ. And, as derivatives from salvation, they were technically beyond the purpose and scope of the relations. Only sanctification, because it was an evidence of redemption, was an exception and occasionally appeared in the confessions. William Hamlet, for example, declared: "And the way whereby I came to know I was united to Christ was [by] the fruits of it, as mortification." Golden Moore also recognized sanctification as an important evidence of salvation:

And, hearing we might clear up justification by sanctification, [I saw nothing], which [discouraged me] when I could not find [it]. Yet, hearing that if I sought to the Lord that he would clear and work it.

Such testimonies illustrate, once again, that Shepard's parishioners adopted a significant portion of his

ministerial gift of soteriology. Equally important, they show in this particular case that some candidates, either consciously or unconsciously, separated themselves from the Antinomianism of Anne Hutchinson, who denied sanctification evidenced salvation. The laymen had learned that lesson well.

The parishioners failed to display a similar competence in the finer and less controversial points of Shepard's soteriology. As revealed by the previous quotation, Golden Moore used the term justification in a simplistic way, employing it as a synonym for salvation. Of course, Shepard occasionally spoke of sanctification evidencing justification, and it is, therefore, unfair to indict Moore for Shepard's impercision and inconsistency.<sup>8</sup> But Shepard established no precedent for Barbara Cutter's equation of reconciliation with conversion:

When [the] soul comes for reconciliation, [it] must see nothing but: 1. condemned for best desires 2. to look on Christ on [the] pole 3. [the] soul should not find a reason why [the] Lord should pity it.

And she was not alone; so did Nathaniel Sparhawk and Henry Dunster, revealing that even a clergyman might loosely interchange his terms under the pressures of an impromptu speech. The sporadic sloppiness of Dunster and Shepard in their terminology perhaps explains the layman's misuse of justification and reconciliation, as pupils seldom excel their tutors. Yet, because the laymen omitted any reference to adoption or glorification and abused the terms

reconciliation and justification the few times they did use them, it seems appropriate to conclude cautiously that Shepard quite rightly apologized for venturing too far into "less practical matters."<sup>9</sup> His parishioners mastered, in varying degrees, preparation, union, and sanctification but faltered over the remainder of Shepard's formal soteriology.

The Cambridge laymen, as a rule, also slighted one of the doctrines that Shepard closely associated with soteriology: the perseverance of the saints. Most of the parishioners, however, ought neither to be considered ignorant nor derelict because of their omission of this part of Reformed theology. As shown previously, many candidates never achieved a full assurance of having closed with Christ. Therefore, an evil act or thought did not signify to them the possibility of a fall from grace; instead, it suggested a false hold on salvation, perhaps even hypocrisy, or at best only a partial closing with Christ. Jane Winship's confession typified their attitude. Although having prepared for Christ and applied various promises, she doubted ever receiving "any grace" because of her "passion." Simply put, it was inappropriate for many laymen to testify about the perseverance of their salvation as long as they remained uncertain about their possession of it.

Among Shepard's more confident parishioners - those who were definite about their closing with Christ - very few worried about jeopardizing their salvation by sinful

behavior. The case of Francis Moore was exceptional. After relating that God "sealed" to him that he was "a new creature and hence was received to mercy," Moore questioned the perseverance of God's grace because of his sins:

Yet many sins [he] committed and so hath questioned whether ever this work was wrought or no that after such infinite love he should depart from God. Yet the Lord set on that word. Tho he had such a heart to abase his grace, yet [he thought] that [the] Lord was unchangeable in himself and so in his love.

Moore, therefore, used the doctrine of election - the unchangeableness of the love of God or, as Shepard put it: "'The Lord knows who are his, . . . and they are sealed by his love and knowledge" - to vanquish his fears, displaying his reception of Shepard's teaching on perseverance.<sup>10</sup>

Shepard had encouraged all his parishioners, who feared that sin might cause them to "fall away from God," to remember three doctrines: election, the covenant of grace, and the sustaining power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>11</sup> The fact that few others shared Moore's need to invoke all or part of Shepard's prescription does not necessarily indicate that they were ignorant of the perseverance of the saints. On the contrary, it suggests that the parishioners fully embraced their pastor's rejection of Arminianism. Consequently, they knew that once they received grace human behavior, whether good or bad in the eyes of men, could neither merit salvation nor imperil it. Although Moore faltered, few others, having once closed with Christ, needed to reassure themselves.

Although not in Shepard's context of perseverance, several candidates did mention the covenant of grace. And, because so much significance has been ascribed to this tenet of Reformed thought, their comments on the doctrine invite close scrutiny and lengthy quotation.<sup>12</sup> Three of the laymen, Edward Collins, John Fessenden, and Jane Champney, attached no special importance to the covenant and spoke of it only in conjunction with scriptural promises of salvation. Fessenden's relation clearly illustrates their practice:

And so, speaking of the covenant which they make one with another, [I heard] Isaiah 62: as [the] young man marries a bride so shall thy sons marry thee. And, [hearing] Psalms 147: broken in heart, I thought I was so [broken], [because of] sin and [the] want of God's love.

Such parishioners apparently understood very little about covenant theology, as they did nothing more than name the doctrine. Other laymen, although they elaborated further on the covenant, also displayed little more than a superficial knowledge of its intricacies. At best, they only possessed a vague impression that the covenant was the way in which God worked salvation. Alice Stedman is a good example. She heard Peter Buckeley, the foremost exponent of covenant theology in New England, preach on the covenant but revealed a shallow understanding of his message:

And when Mr. Buckeley taught here out of the seventeenth [chapter] of Genesis that [the] great God should enter into a covenant with him [i.e., Abram], I was content [that] the Lord should make what[ever] covenant he

would, especially [hearing]; Abram then falling upon his face. Yet I could not believe.

The knowledge of John Jones, who also heard Buckeley preach, barely topped that of Stedman. He thought that "laying hold" of Christ was the only "means of delivery," because "he had made a covenant with all his." And, at a subsequent point in his relation, Jones further testified to the comfort he found in one of the covenant promises: "by [the] blood of thy covenant I have sent out prisoners from the pit." John Haynes and William Ames exhibited a different, perhaps a somewhat deeper, understanding of covenant theology. Both of them denied that being "under [a] covenant of godly parents" ensured them salvation, rejecting the possibility of a genetic inheritance of grace. Ames declared:

But when encouragements came in, [reminding me] that I was born of good parents [and] in [the] covenant, yet, I could not but see I might be Esau's. And hence I resolved and renewed [my] resolution to seek after God.

Yet, Ames and Haynes, like the others, failed to assign covenant theology to its correct place in Reformed thought. To the Cambridge congregation the covenant was hardly more than a tangential consideration, a minor point in their confessions.

All such commentaries on covenant theology implicitly contradict Miller's hypothesis on the subject; laymen neither used the doctrine to bargain contractually with God for salvation nor attributed any other special soteriological

significance to it. The one remaining reference to covenant theology further substantiates such conclusions. In it the unidentified candidate explicitly rejected the notion that a man acquired any redemptive ability by entering into a covenant with God:

So by that and other things [I] considered - concerning the covenant [and] remembering it was nothing in us that could provide justification but only laying hold on Christ, feeling misery, and resting on him - I commanded some comfort and some hopes.

Therefore, in contrast to Miller's argument that the layman's anxiety over election inspired ministers to modify covenant theology into a "shamelessly pragmatic injunction," enabling the believer to assure himself of his election by fulfilling the terms of the covenant, the Cambridge parishioners never considered the covenant a guarantee of their election or salvation.<sup>13</sup> They failed even to comprehend its place in Shepard's theology. And, finally, it must be emphasized that only a few of Shepard's congregation ever deemed the doctrine important enough to mention.

Laymen found Shepard's doctrine of means much more engaging than covenant theology, but their knowledge of the subject was, as usual, informal, unorganized, and incomplete. In this case, however, the laymen were not to blame. Shepard fostered chaos by never presenting the doctrine in a formal, systematic way. His parishioners, consequently, had to extract the means, which were mere subpoints to broader considerations, from his four-year series of weekly sermons on the parable of the ten virgins. They did

reasonably well, although few parishioners, if any, employed the means to obtain an assurance of their salvation. Several candidates, however, used at least one of the means Shepard recommended for closing with Christ. Others, perhaps with better memories or sermon notes, combined two or more of them. And a clear majority of the congregation at least mentioned their reliance on the means, although they often neglected to identify which ones they applied. Sometimes parishioners - still reflecting the thought of Shepard and other ministers - equated the means with the scriptures, prayer, or preaching.<sup>14</sup> The Cambridge laymen not only conceptually mirrored, albeit kaleidoscopically, their pastor's teaching on the means but, for once, accurately employed his terminology.

Especially attractive to the parishioners were the means Shepard prescribed for closing with Christ, although frequently it is difficult to determine (because of the conceptual similarities) whether the candidates were describing their experience of conviction, compunction, humiliation, and faith or employing the means to attain those steps to grace. But when their phraseology duplicates or parallels Shepard's exposition on the means it seems appropriate to conclude that they were implementing those means. To close with Christ, therefore, the laymen first used the means to eliminate all their self-reliance and self-love, that is, to achieve conviction, compunction, and humiliation. They began, as Shepard advised, by



mourning for their corrupt principles. Golden Moore "mourned under sin." So did Richard Jackson's maid. Initially, she had only been troubled by a "fear of hell"; but, hearing of the "sufferings of the Lord Jesus," she "began to mourn" because her sins had caused "Christ to suffer." Next the parishioners humbly submitted to divine sovereignty. Many candidates were like Martha Collins: "let [the] Lord do with me what he will." And, finally, they gave themselves, their sins, and their self-righteousness to Christ, meeting what Shepard called the "terms" or "conditions" of preparation.<sup>15</sup> William Hamlet desired Christ "upon any terms," expressing a willingness even "to loose" his "life" in order to be "found in Christ." Jackson's maid, once again, plied the means: "So I took Christ there upon his own terms and [decided] to take all [of] Christ, so healing many sins." Having used the means to acquire conviction, compunction, and humiliation, the laymen then explicitly and, more commonly, implicitly employed the means to faith, the final phase of closing with Christ. Explicitly, some laymen like John Trumbull confessed, as Shepard urged, that they prized the blood of Christ:

And - the Lord opening that of Peter no redemption but by [the] blood of Christ and no price but in Christ's blood - hence I saw the price of blood. Hence [I] desired it that it might purge me from sin and sickness.

Many others, as shown by the scriptural promises they embraced for salvation, esteemed the person of Christ as

the source of their redemption. The candidates, however, only implicitly demonstrated their utilization of the three other means Shepard recommended for securing faith. Their confessions implied that they were never content with any measure of grace, that they continually and patiently sought salvation, and that they attempted to please the Lord whether they considered themselves saved or damned. The parishioners mastered the means to close with Christ remarkably well, especially in view of Shepard's scattered and unsystematic presentation of the doctrine. But the means were the layman's only way to salvation - the only way he could actively participate in a divine process - and, therefore, it is not surprising that he remembered Shepard's words and put them into practice.

The parishioners, in contrast, were unconcerned about utilizing the seven means to assurance; means by which, according to Shepard, they could make their "calling, and election, and the love of Christ sure."<sup>16</sup> Three of those seven means they never mentioned at all: inquiring whether Christ loved them for his "name's sake" rather than for their own merits, casting away their fears, and examining themselves for a particular sin that prevented the Spirit from granting them assurance. As to the four remaining means, it is very doubtful whether the laymen actually used them. The confessions reveal, on the one hand, that the parishioners always avoided mingling the covenants of works and grace, usually longed for Christ,

frequently recognized his tenderheartedness, and on occasion (like Barbara Cutter) brought their hearts "to a strait either to receive or reject" Christ. But, on the other hand, such beliefs are traceable to other aspects of Shepard's soteriology, and - because the candidates consistently failed to connect them with the problem of assurance or to use Shepard's phraseology - it seems appropriate to attribute them to such an origin. The parishioners, therefore, probably derived those opinions from Shepard's preaching on election and union with Christ and not from his teaching on the means to assurance. It was not, as one writer asserted, that the Cambridge laymen "felt no serious doubt of their being, in the language of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 'saints' and the 'elect'" and, therefore, slighted the means to assurance.<sup>17</sup> On the contrary, it was probably because Shepard's theology required a full measure of personal doubt, a long "famine of the spirit," that his parishioners refrained from testifying to an assurance of their salvation.<sup>18</sup>

Most candidates did display a knowledge of at least one of the signs or evidences of grace, although the breadth and depth of their comprehension is difficult to access accurately. On the negative side, the laymen completely ignored one of the signs; nobody used mourning for their ignorance of Christ as a sign of grace. They also neglected two other signs, for - though the parishioners confessed their vileness and professed their apprehension

of Christ's glory, love, and mind - they never identified such realizations as signs of their redemption. Such testimony is, therefore, more correctly attributed to their knowledge of conviction and vocation than to Shepard's preaching on the signs. One parishioner even confused the means to close with Christ and the means to assurance with the signs of grace; Jane Winship thought that being "content" with Christ "alone" and mourning for him when he was "absent" were signs that "Christ was accepted." On the positive side, several candidates gladly forfeited the world and laid all at Christ's feet. Mary Angier even designated her forfeiture a sign of grace:

And seeing nothing would satisfy her but the Lord and [that there was] nothing in heaven or earth she desired - nothing like him - she thought the Lord called to her to himself.

Other candidates, as shown previously, were like John Trumbull who considered keeping God's "commands" an "evidence" of salvation. And, concerning sanctification evidencing redemption, most parishioners heeded Shepard's warnings against resting in duties. Edward Hall's confession that he had followed "examples and duties and made them his Christ and lived without Christ" typified the sentiments of many who explicitly divested good works by any redemptive power. The parishioners also, as suggested by their disregard for the means to assurance, deemed their uncertainty about salvation a sign of God's favor. Barbara Cutter, for example, plainly labeled doubt

a sign of grace:

And since [the] Lord hath let me see more of himself, as in doubtings, [and] that [the] Lord did leave saints [to] doubting as to remove lightness and frothiness. Hence, doubtings [came] to [be] cause for fresh evidence.

Most candidates, however, preferred to incorporate Shepard's view into their relations implicitly. As illustrated in figure four, they often did so by expressing an indication of God's good will towards them and then mentioning a reason to doubt his saving favor, a process constantly fluctuating between hope and despair.<sup>19</sup>

Nathaniel Eaton succinctly described the ups and downs of sainthood:

And, when my heart hath been ready to cast off all, God's love hath awakened me and hath not suffered me to relapse but to rise again, etc., and persuaded me that the seeds cast upon me shall last unto eternal life.

Finally, a few laymen either invented signs of their own, learned them from another minister, or acquired them from Shepard informally - a development which can neither be classified negatively as an ignorance or misinterpretation of ministerial thought nor positively as an accurate reflection of Reformed theology because of our lack of information. Katherine, the maid of Elizabeth Russell, believed she possessed the "favor" of God because he had not given her "devices." Another sign, thought John Fessenden, was "to speak" forgiveness. And Nicholas Wyeth mentioned yet another "ground of assurance":

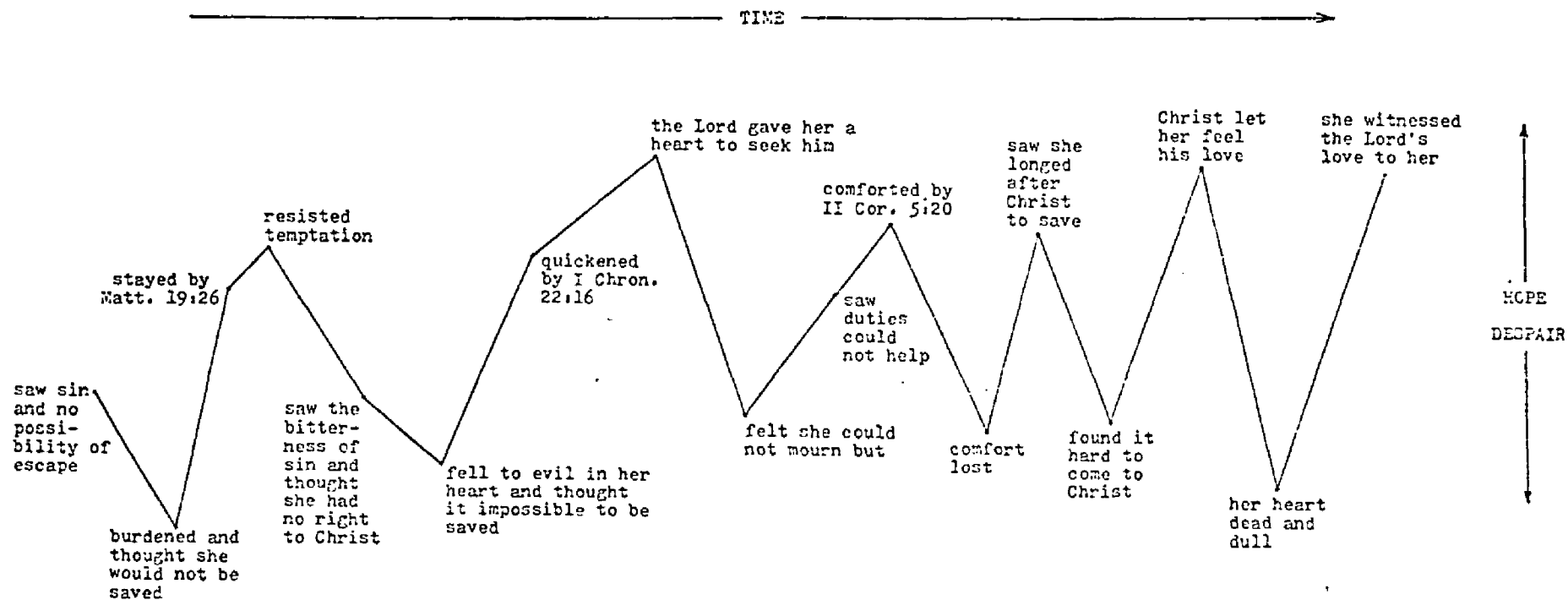


Figure 4: Elizabeth Olbon's Uncertainty Over Salvation

[I have assurance] because love began.  
 Question. How [do you] know that?  
 Answer. [I know it] because of that good  
 [which] I see in them and would get from  
 them, and I think [of] myself [as] unfit  
 to come into their society [i.e., the  
 society of God's people].

All of the testimony concerning the signs of grace, once again, displays the layman's incomplete and haphazard perception of Shepard's ministerial gift. As with the doctrine of means, however, Shepard generated much of the confusion because he never systematically presented the signs. Indeed, the laymen did well to cull over one-half of them from their pastor's voluminous sermons on conversion, especially considering that the signs appeared randomly as subpoints to broader considerations.

In sum, Shepard's parishioners seem to have listened attentively to their pastor's sermons and adopted substantial portions of his theology. They demonstrated, as a group, an impressive knowledge of Shepard's preaching on predestination, union with Christ, sanctification, the perseverance of the saints, the means to close with Christ, and several of the signs of grace. Their understanding, it is true, was usually informal, unorganized, and incomplete, just as their terminology lacked precision. And their comprehension of the finer points in Shepard's thought, such as justification, reconciliation, adoption, glorification, and covenant theology, was shallow. Indeed, we cannot equate lay and ministerial thought.<sup>20</sup> But despite omissions, distortions, modifications, and simplifications, the parish-

ioners, on the whole, displayed a remarkable knowledge of Reformed thought. They received much of Shepard's ministerial gift.



## CHAPTER III

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONVERSION

The Reformed theology of Thomas Shepard taught that God bestowed grace upon undeserving sinners. Conversion, therefore, was construed as a divine act, a decision made in heaven. Shepard's view may be true; conversion, ultimately, may be a divinely inspired response in men to an act of a gracious deity. But are not historians, as analysts, obligated to go beyond the theological explanation of conversion given by a New England minister? Ought they not to utilize and test the findings of psychologists, who have studied the conversion phenomenon carefully, in order to explore the natural or observable processes connected with the conversion experience? Unfortunately, professional historians have traditionally rejected such an interdisciplinary approach to religion in general and to conversion in particular.<sup>1</sup> Their refusal seems to emanate from either a respect for the belief that God is the only explanation needed for conversion or from objections derived from principles of historical methodology.<sup>2</sup> Whatever their reasons, historians, ironically, have turned out to be more conservative in approach than Shepard, who without apology integrated science and religion. For example, Shepard countered the attacks of what he called atheists, those who claimed that "all things" were "brought

to pass by second causes," by asking: "Is there no master in the house, because the servants do all the work"? Indeed, Shepard accepted the idea of secondary causation, although he qualified his position by asserting that sometimes "special pieces" of God's "administration" interrupted the natural course of events. And at the great judgment day, Shepard concluded, everyone would see the interpenetration of the natural and supernatural realms and would clearly perceive God's "infinite wisdom in fitting all this for his own glory, and for the good of his people."<sup>3</sup>

If Shepard believed that God normally operated through "second causes," it is hardly revolutionary and certainly not irreverent for twentieth century historians to search for the natural causes behind conversion. The historian with religious convictions asks: Through what secondary agencies did God work his will? Historians who ignore or deny the possibility of divine causation lay aside metaphysical considerations and inquire: What discernable processes best describe and explain conversion? Explain, however, is only used in the sense of a deeper understanding, for any psychological explanation of behavior is descriptive and fails to provide an answer to philosophical questions of ultimate causation. In either case, the historian suspends his ontological judgments, seeks to understand the empirical workings of conversion, and leaves the reader to decide conversion's prime mover (God or Nature).<sup>4</sup>

Deciding to adopt more than an extraterrestrial understanding of conversion and seek a psychological basis for the experience, the historian immediately faces another, more mundane, methodological problem. For if psychologists, who devote their lives to the discipline, cannot agree on a single psychological model for conversion, how can the historian make a wise choice? The historian, moreover, always takes the risk of a distorted application of psychological theory because he is at the mercy of the biases implicit in the literature left by the people being studied. And the historian, unlike the psychologist, cannot offset such a literary pitfall by either circulating questionnaires or interviewing his subjects. Such limitations, however, do not nullify the value of documentary evidence. As Gordon W. Allport, a noted psychologist, concluded:

Personal documents are good if they serve the comparison of lives, one with another, leading to statistical generalizations and to an understanding of uniformities of behavior. But they are good also if standing one by one they provide concrete evidence of the nature of single personal lives from which all psychological science is derived.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, although not trained as a psychologist and clinically restricted, the historian can test over time - by investigating, for example, the behavior of people in the Cambridge community of the 1640's - the various psychological theories about conversion, adopting the hypothesis which best fits the historical facts. In this way the historian attempts to validate psychological theory and, if

necessary, amend it by his own research. His work, consequently, becomes a challenge to psychologists, who usually formulate their theories on the basis of information collected solely from contemporary sources, for if their theories about human behavior are correct they must apply to the humanity of both 1640 and the present. And, equally important, such an interdisciplinary procedure enables the historian to achieve a better understanding of the past by adopting the theoretical framework which best explains his data.

What psychological theory best explains conversion? Because very little creative work has been done on the subject since William James published The Varieties of Religious Experience, the historian, for the most part, must turn to the work of a previous generation of psychologists. As one contemporary specialist regretfully notes, psychologists of the present day "infrequently concern themselves with the study of religion and practically never with the subject of conversion. It is quite obvious that the latter is regarded as a kind of psychological slum to be avoided by any really respectable scholar."<sup>6</sup> There is, nevertheless, enough continuity of opinion among psychologists - even among those contemporary psychologists, like Erik Erikson, who deal only tangentially with the psychology of conversion - to suggest that an established tradition exists about the conversion experience. It began in 1881 with the Boston public lectures of G. Stanley Hall, gained

further substantiation through the work of Edwin Starbuck, achieved widespread notoriety in William James' famous Gifford lectures, and of late has received, although indirectly, further elucidation by Erik Erikson, the latter infusing a heavy dose of Freudian or Neo-Freudian psychoanalysis into the tradition.<sup>7</sup> For the sake of clarity it is necessary to attach a label to this stream of psychological opinion; Erikson's descriptive phrase "identity crisis" is a suitable rubric.

The expression is Eriksonian, but he was not the first to discover the importance of seeking an identity; indeed, Hall, Starbuck, and James all emphasized the centrality of identity formulation to the normal development of adolescence and related it to the conversion experience. Hall argued, initially in the face of ridicule, that "conversion is a natural, normal, universal, and necessary process at the stage when life pivots over from an autocentric to an heterocentric basis." Childhood "must be selfish" because it must "be fed, sheltered, clothed, taught," whereas in adolescence a "totalizing tendency appears on a higher plane. Youth seeks to be, know, get, feel all that is highest, greatest, and best in man's estate, circumnavigating in widening sweeps before it finds the right object upon which to climb."<sup>8</sup> Starbuck, too, after investigating 1265 case histories of conversion, concluded:

The central facts in adolescent life, namely, spontaneous awakening and storm and stress,

have become crystallised into a dogma; the result is conversion. Theology takes these adolescent tendencies and builds upon them; it sees that the essential thing in adolescent growth is bringing the person out of childhood into the new life of maturity and personal insight . . . . conversion intensifies but shortens the period of storm and stress, by bringing the person to a definite crisis.<sup>9</sup>

William James, Starbuck's Harvard mentor, incorporated the finding of his student into his Gifford lectures, declaring that Starbuck's conclusion "would seem to be the only sound one: Conversion is in its essence a normal adolescent phenomenon, incidental to the passage from the child's small universe to the wider intellectual and spiritual life of maturity."<sup>10</sup>

Erikson had precursors, but he most carefully defined the concept of identity, albeit not in connection with conversion but in the context of his study of youth.<sup>11</sup> Erikson began by clarifying the concept of crisis; it is not an impending catastrophe but rather "a necessary turning point, a crucial moment, when development must move one way or another, marshaling resources of growth, recovery, and further differentiation."<sup>12</sup> The crisis normally occurs in "the age of adolescence and young adulthood," when an "ideological structure of the environment becomes essential for the ego, because without an ideological simplification of the universe the adolescent ego cannot organize experience according to its specific capacities and its expanding involvement."<sup>13</sup> By ideological Erikson meant "a system of ideas that provides a convincing world image,"

which he regarded as "a universal psychological need."<sup>14</sup> The formulation of identity is not totally an introspective process but arises out of an individual's encounter with his environment. Such influence begins, for the Neo-Freudian Erikson, somewhere in the "first true 'meeting' of mother and baby as two persons who can touch and recognize each other, and it does not 'end' until a man's power of mutual affirmation wanes," although once again Erikson emphasized that the process has "its normative crisis in adolescence."<sup>15</sup> It is in adolescence that identity formation employs "a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning, by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him."<sup>16</sup>

Erikson's conception of identity aligns him with the tradition established by psychologists of religion; but the theory is also found in another field of psychology - the study of adolescence per se. Leta S. Hollingworth, in her classic book, clearly described the identity crisis of adolescence. She asserted that at about twelve years of age, though the age varies with intelligence and other factors, the individual begins to seek definite and logical answers to certain questions: Where did I come from?

Where will I go when I die? Who made everything? What is the meaning of existence? Such questions, demanding a "constructive and systematic explanation of the universe," emerge in adolescence because it is the time when "the individual first achieves his maximum power of thinking and planning."<sup>17</sup> And her view still holds sway among some psychologists of adolescence:

She [Hollingworth] viewed adolescence as a period when, more than at any other time of life, it is important for young people to establish convictions about their identity. They must, as far as possible find themselves . . . . Imbedded in the striving of an adolescent who feels the throb of life is a search for meaning.<sup>18</sup>

Norman Kiell, another specialist concerned with youth, tested the traditional theories on adolescence over time, an example of a psychologist using historical methodology. He collected documents, ranging from 120 A.D. to the present, to illustrate his thesis that the "great internal turmoil and external disorder of adolescence are universal and only moderately affected by cultural determinants . . . . adolescent development is basically uniform in all societies."<sup>19</sup> What of an adolescent identity crisis? Kiell found that the "search for identity, basic for the adolescent in all cultures and in all times," appeared "distinctly" in the documents.<sup>20</sup> The questions, "'What am I? Whither am I going? What is this place? Are these things real? What is the precise relation between myself and the not-self? Was I always, shall I be for ever? Can I be merely the Now?," he discovered, were "brooded over



more frequently than we suspect."<sup>21</sup> It is apparent, therefore, that a psychological model exists for understanding the conversion experience, although it must be culled from varying eras and fields of psychological investigation. Only one question remains: Do the confessions recorded by Thomas Shepard confirm or amend it?

Salient in the analyses of the various psychologists is the importance of adolescence, the age or stage of development when the dilemma of identity enters the consciousness of the individual. At first glance, this proposition seems untestable by the confessions. The candidates, because of their commitment to Shepard's view that doubting one's salvation was a sign of election, never pinpointed the exact year they came to Christ. Instead, they testified, as we have seen in the case of Elizabeth Olbon, to a long search for grace and many years of vacillation.<sup>22</sup> But if one seeks the approximate age of religious awakening, the first stirrings of introspection, that age can be estimated for nearly a half of the congregation, a reliable sample. Either by direct testimony or from determinations based on birth-death dates and the locations of the person, a full twenty-four or twenty-five of the people underwent a religious awakening before the age of thirty: one when "about twelve," seven as teenagers, nine as young adults (20's), one when he "came to some understanding," one "sometime after" he grew "up to years of discretion," one when "very young," two while "young,"

and two while apprenticed. Ann Errington, a woman in her thirties was the only exception. She resented her seven year apprenticeship to a "godly family," resolving "if ever loose" she would be "vile." It was not until Errington married that she overcame her rebellion and began seriously to consider religion, and then it struck her "heart as an arrow." The ages of the Cambridge laymen at the time of their conversion substantiate the findings of the psychological studies in the identity crisis tradition. Starbuck, the most precise in his statistical generalizations regarding age, concluded that conversion belongs "almost exclusively to the years between 10 and 25," and the "number of instances outside that range appear few and scattered."<sup>23</sup> Conversion, therefore, when tested over time, still proves to be an adolescent phenomenon - an experience Shepard's parishioners underwent between the naivete of childhood and the relatively fixed habits of maturity.

Adolescence, according to psychologists, is the time when an individual's life changes from an autocentric to an heterocentric basis, when a person passes from the child's small universe to the wider intellectual and spiritual life of maturity. This centrifugal development is viewed by psychologists as inherent in the normal maturation process; hence, their emphasis on the age of a person at the time of conversion. Undoubtedly physical and mental development is a natural result of growing older.

But often overlooked by the earlier psychologists is the fact that adolescence is the age when people frequently leave their families and familiar environs and encounter new personalities, ideas, and situations. Erikson recognized the importance of the individual's social context, asserting that "we cannot separate personal growth and communal change, nor can we separate . . . the identity crisis in individual life and contemporary crises in historical development . . . . the whole interplay between the psychological and the social, the developmental and the historical, for which identity formation is of prototypal significance, could be conceptualized only as a kind of psychosocial relativity."<sup>24</sup> When a person's social milieu alters - either because of extraordinary shifts in society or from simpler changes in an individual's life, such as becoming an apprentice - it often has a profound effect on his psychological development.

It is beyond the scope of this study to inquire into the crises of English society in the seventeenth century, and we have already seen the effects of New England's antinomian controversy on Shepard and his parishioners.<sup>25</sup> On the personal level, however, the testimony of the Cambridge laymen furnishes ample evidence to conclude that family deaths, changes in residency, friendships, occupational pursuits, and marriage often acted as catalysts to conversion or, in terms of psychological theory, triggered the introspection and intellectual

probing for meaning which ends in an identity crisis. Well over a third of the candidates, either consciously or unconsciously, associated their religious awakening with some alteration in their environment. Robert Sanders had "some liking of religion" in his "tender" years, but Sanders did not undergo conversion until "put to prentice" by his father:

I had liberty [as an apprentice] to hear but had many bad examples. And so [I] thought the Lord made me by want of fairer means to prize what I lost . . . . So I resolved to walk in a Christian course . . . . And after[ward I] found many sins, and I prayed to the Lord to subdue them. And he set my soul at liberty.

Sobered by the death of a relative, John Stedman decided to mend his "former courses" when he heard his uncle's funeral sermon, an oration emphasizing the "woefull estate of men" destined for divine retribution. He subsequently renounced drunkenness, forsook "vain and idle" companions, embraced religious principles, and attended the "private societies of saints," all part of his search for a new religious identity. Family hardships turned Jane Holmes to God:

It pleased the Lord to take my mother and give [me] a mother-in-law [i.e., stepmother] who had many children, which was an affliction to me. And [I] thought it go[o]d to make use of it; hence [I] began to read the word and began to think it good to follow the Lord.

Goodwife Crackbone moved to London and made new friends before she experienced a spiritual awakening:

Her brother, sending for her to London, placed her in a good house. There I considered my course and ways, especially of one sin. And

[I] thought the Lord would never accept me  
 more and was terrified and out of hope.  
 And, hearing 1 Isaiah: white as snow, I  
 had some hope.

Although changes in residency and exposure to Reformed ministers failed to affect John Furnell, a very carefree rascal in his youth, marriage compelled him to consider solemnly the meaning of life. Reflecting on his "rude and wicked" ways, he decided that it "was not best [for] a wife," and after marrying he came to accept the gospel. Martha Collins "felt no need of change" until she moved to Essex, where she heard a sermon on the parable of the rich man (Luke 12:16-21) which, she recalled, "somewhat affected" her. Then she went to London, where "by plenty of means" and from her husband's "speaking," she saw her "original corruption and miserable condition." Collins had been satisfied in her "civil" course of life for at least nineteen years. Then marriage and new residencies expanded her world, forcing her, in Eriksonian phraseology, to judge herself in the light of what she perceived to be the way in which others (the new minister, congregation and husband) judged her (the sinner) in comparison to themselves (the saints) and to a typology significant to them (Reformed theology); she, in turn, judged their way of judging her in the light of how she perceived herself in comparison to them (corrupt and miserable) and to types that became relevant (the newly discovered theology) to her.<sup>26</sup>

Every normal person lives through the turmoil of

adolescence and undergoes, at least once in his life, changes in either residency, occupation, family ties, friendships or marital status. Such experiences, however, affect the resolution of an individual's identity crisis differently, depending on the psychosocial formation of his or her innermost personality. William James, accordingly, identified two fundamental ways that religious people perceive the universe. Those characterized by "healthy-mindedness" possess a "tendency which looks on all things and sees that they are good." Such optimism proceeds either involuntarily from a "way of feeling happy about things immediately" or from a systematic philosophy, one which abstractly conceives of "things as good" and "deliberately excludes evil from its field of vision."<sup>27</sup> In contrast to the healthy-minded personality, James juxtaposed the radically opposite view of the "sick soul," the individual who maximizes evil and asserts that the "evil aspects of our life are of its very essence, and that the world's meaning most comes home to us when we lay them most to heart."<sup>28</sup> Those convinced that evil pervades the world suffer from acute anguish and varying degrees of loathing, irritation, exasperation, self-mistrust, self-despair, self-contempt, suspicion, anxiety, trepidation and melancholy, attitudes that destroy "man's original optimism and self-satisfaction" by emphasizing the "vanity of mortal things," the existence of sin, and the fearfulness of the universe.<sup>29</sup> When overt conditions, such as a minister's

declaration that man is depraved and hopelessly lost or an exposure to the reality of death, combine with the pressures of adolescence and the world view of the "sick soul," it is unlikely that a person's identity crisis will be resolved by a "silent, inner and unconscious conflict." Indeed, such psychosocial conditions aggravate a painful "identity-consciousness," and conversion - for those imbued with Reformed theology - is the only possible means of "inner unification."<sup>30</sup>

Without exception, Shepard's parishioners are of the "sick soul" variety. They almost universally deemed themselves "miserable" sinners; only three people omitted an explicit reference to their wickedness. Furthermore, almost one-half of the candidates openly expressed their fear of death, hell or divine judgment. And, as persons unable to discard "the burden of the consciousness of evil," they suffered from the symptoms James attributed to the "sick soul."<sup>31</sup> "The Lord," Edward Hall confessed, "made him loath himself." Robert Daniel endured frustration, perhaps exasperation, being "carried many years under a spirit of bondage and fear of God's wrath." Self-mistrust was common, as in the case of Nathaniel Sparhawk who saw his "estate" was "not to be trusted." Barbara Cutter's self-despair typified the feelings of many. In England "the more she looked on them [her converted friends] the more she thought ill of herself," and when she came to New England she "knew not what to do" and spoke "to none, as knowing

none like" herself. Elizabeth Olbon harbored self-contempt. The Lord, she testified, showed her that Christ was the "hiding place" for sinners, but "seeing her evil she saw she had no right to it." Anxiety plagued Joanna Sill, who "thought God would destroy her," and William Andrew's acute sense of sin drove him to contemplate suicide. "I had often [a] temptation to kill myself," he recalled, "hence [I] durst not carry a knife about me nor go near water." George Willis' trepidation - "terrified" because he profaned the Sabbath - appeared occasionally in other confessions. Finally, the melancholy of John Haynes was not unusually extreme:

I was now fearful of doing [or] speaking lest all should aggravate [some] misery, which I thought was as sure to be inflicted [on me] as I had a being. And so [I] would not eat. And [I thought I could come] to lay violent hands upon myself - hell not being greater, I thought, than what I felt.

It is true, of course, that Shepard's soteriology, particularly the doctrine of preparation, provided the conceptual basis for such statements - the accidents of conversion are always culturally conditioned and kept "true to a pre-appointed type of instruction, appeal, and example"<sup>32</sup> - but only individuals psychologically capable of viewing themselves and the world as degenerate, only James's "sick souls," could adopt such an ideology.<sup>33</sup>

The Cambridge laymen suffered from the combined pressures of adolescence, emigration, marrying, learning a trade, moving to the city, and burying relatives. And, as



just shown, the layman's self-image and world view, being that of the "sick soul," instilled in his mind a bleak interpretation of the human experience. It is hardly surprising, therefore that when introspective questions of personal identity arose Shepard's parishioners sought deliverance through salvation. Conversion to the Reformed faith provided them with a comprehensive explanation of man's origin, purpose, and destiny. In Eriksonian terms, it resolved their problems of identity by providing them with an "ideological simplification of the universe" around which they could "organize experience according to its specific capacities and its expanding involvement."<sup>34</sup> Conversion, more precisely, offered them an escape from the fear of the unknown, meaning and purpose in life, moral guidance, and immortality.

The confessions clearly reveal that members of the Cambridge congregation struggled for meaning and identity, eventually resolving their inner conflicts by an ideological structualization of life. Although not everyone consciously expressed his identity crisis, it is striking that more than a fourth of the congregation did plainly articulate their search for meaning in life. Of course, the parishioners used soteriological concepts to express their quest for an identity; their ideas were, after all, culturally conditioned by Shepard's ministerial gift. But they applied his teaching to their own problems, as if they sought explicitly to answer the questions of personal identity: Who am I?

Why am I here? What in life has lasting meaning? Edward Hall pondered Jesus' query: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul"?<sup>35</sup> And such a consideration accelerated his religiosity, moving him one step closer to conversion. Nathaniel Eaton also wrestled with the meaninglessness of life and found Christianity the only remedy:

I saw an emptiness in myself; there was no grace or peace there nor nothing in the creature. They were empty, and hence I saw there life revealed, and the life of Christ.

Robert Holmes derived fulfillment for a time in his occupation; at Newcastle he was "much given to work and covetousness." Subsequently, however, he concluded that "all things here were empty vanities" and found lasting "joy" only by putting his faith in Christ. The demise of a close friend sparked the emergence of a conscious identity crisis in the one unidentifiable confessor. He was "much troubled" by his friend's death and, consequently, meditated upon "how vain and transitory life was and how soon" he "might be gone." Eventually, he decided that only a theological rationalization of life was valid:

I examined what [I thought] was the greatest thing I desired. And I saw it was not any outward things, which were transitory. And [I saw] only [the] blood of Christ would stand him in stead . . . . And I found it [was] my desire to fly to that one remedy.

Such examples demonstrate the felt need of Shepard's parishioners for an identity, one which resolved their "troubled and much confusion of spirit" and redeemed them

from "utter despair." They found such an identity in the Reformed theology of Thomas Shepard, one which enabled them to overcome the perplexities and mysteries of life and death; and some, like Nathaniel Sparhawk, experienced such relief that they could "walk up and down the room rejoicing in him [the Lord] and hitting those out the window that were otherwise employed."

Thus far the confessions have served the purpose of comparing lives en masse in an effort to formulate generalizations, although relying heavily on exemplary evidence for illustration, and to discover any uniformities of behavior in the conversion process. It is also useful to investigate individual case histories in order to "provide concrete evidence of the nature of single personal lives from which all psychological science is derived."<sup>36</sup> A thorough reconstruction of their personal experience, of course, is impossible. The candidates, speaking before a gathering of their peers, were undoubtedly nervous, restricted by time, and, most importantly, unconcerned with the psychosocial factors that interest the psychologist or historian examining conversion. Their relations, unfortunately, are at best only fragmentary histories of conversion. Nevertheless, there are at least four individuals who revealed enough information about themselves to enable the historian to compile sketchy case histories of their conversion.

Henry Dunster was a precocious child. At four or five years of age he questioned why there should be con-

flicting opinions about William Hubbock's preaching, asking why some men scoffed at his sermons while others flocked to hear them. By the age of twelve Dunster had matured enough to "understand" his minister's theology and experienced a religious awakening, perhaps conversion. The next plateau of his spiritual life began at Cambridge University where the preaching of John Preston and Thomas Goodwin, two Reformed ministers, reinforced his earlier commitments to God. So far Dunster conforms to the pattern; his conversion (or striving for conversion) began in adolescence, and a change in his environment accelerated the process. Was he a "sick soul"? Unfortunately, he left no clues about his earliest years. But Dunster's confession reveals that eventually psychosocial conditions led him to self-contempt or, soteriologically speaking, humiliation; he "saw nothing but doleful horror" in his conscience and feared that "lightning" might strike him dead because his "mind" was "apt to all errors." And the same psychosocial conditions compelled Dunster to embrace a pessimistic, although theologically orthodox, view of man's status in the universe:

Man also - by the first suggestion of Satan - fell from God and fell from that blessed image of God; [he was] created in holiness and righteousness. And, believing Satan, [man] did receive the character and image of Satan on his soul. So, in our [i.e., their] natural estate, they have communion with the Devil [and] cannot be subject unto the law.

Did Dunster have an identity crisis? He did not define it

as clearly as others who consciously mentioned the vanity of life without Christ, but he considered it "folly" to depart from God in "dissolute living" and testified that only the Lord could "speak peace." After leaving Cambridge, Dunster had his spiritual ups and downs; like Elizabeth Olbon he was never too sure whether he was saved or not. Yet, his adolescent conversion always provided him with an identity, a touchstone for meaning and authority in life.

If ever an adolescent pursued an identity, John Stansby did. His father died when he was eleven, and then the young Stansby's quest began. "As I grew in years," he recalled, "I sought a match for my best. And herein I have been like the devil not only [going] to hell myself but enticing and haling others to sin, rejoicing when I could make others drink and sin." It is a portrayal of a troubled teenager without a father or seemingly any other authority to guide him and supply an identity of who and what he ought to be. Stansby, therefore, adopted the role of "a child of hell," and he who so needed guidance compensated by attempting to be a leader of others.<sup>37</sup> But Stansby was a "sick soul," he was - beneath his projected gaiety - unhappy with his conduct and sensitive to evil. At Cambridge he heard a sermon which stirred those innermost feelings and initiated within him an identity crisis (or rather a struggle between opposing identities). He made "many resolutions" in his "base rotten heart" to reform, but for a time he found his "lusts and haunts" to be the

stronger rival. In the end, however, he opted for the religious identity, pursuing it as vigorously as he did his former vices:

And hereby, by seeing my vileness, I was drawn to hunger and thirst after Christ, and [it] made me feel my need of Christ . . . . I saw myself laden and hence begged of the Lord that I might run after him. And in this promise [Matthew 11:28] I found the Lord let in a sight of his beauty, glory, and excellency. And hereupon I went with boldness to [the] throne of grace.

The first twenty years of Martha Collins' life were stable ones; she learned her catechism, felt comfortable around her peers, and believed her "condition very good, being civil." Then, while either visiting or living in Essex, perhaps married, she heard a sermon which set her to thinking about the meaning of life and death. The sermon was on the parable of the rich man - a story Jesus told to illustrate the importance of subordinating earthly life to the eternal, spiritual life. The rich man in the parable was getting richer; so wealthy, in fact, that he succumbed to smugness: "And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drinke, and be merry."<sup>38</sup> But it was not to be for, as Collins recalled the minister's words, "thou fool this night shall they take thy soul from thee and one paper wall [stood] between him and hell." Such preaching "affected" Martha, and, although she rationalized that it "was to them that were more vile" than she, Collins could not rest until acquiring an ideological explanation of life which answered

both questions of temporal and eternal identity. Moving with her husband first to London and then to New England, Collins came to discover such an all encompassing ideology in Reformed theology. And henceforth she lived a devoutly religious life.

Finally, there is the case of John Jones, who came to New England with his parents as a child. His father, after being "raised up from sickness," exhorted the family to "seek after God," especially young John. But it was not until "sometime after" his father's promptings that he began to "look into" his "condition." The introspection came at a time of despair, when the "sick soul" in Jones prevailed: "I lay under many troubles and much confusion of spirit. And I knew not what should be [the] cause of [my] trouble. I thought it [was] melancholy." John "laboured" to subdue it by turning to friends uninterested in introverted religiosity and found contentment for a time. Then the preaching of Peter Buckeley of Concord confronted him with the vanity of life without Christ. He showed him, Jones recalled, that "everyone by nature was a prisoner in a pit and [a] dungeon with no comfort to be found." Accepting Buckeley's commentary on the "state of every natural man," he concluded that his own condition was "sad and miserable" and sought deliverance from the futility of life through conversion - an experience which gave him "hope."

Whether one views the confessions individually or

en masse, certain uniformities appear in the conversion process. It is primarily, almost exclusively, a phenomenon connected with adolescence or young adulthood. It frequently occurs when alterations in family life, occupation, marital status, friendships or residency interrupt the regularity of an individual's life and, at the same, broaden his understanding of the human situation. Conversion, furthermore, attracts those with an acute sense of guilt, those who are bewildered by the evil they discover in themselves and the world. Finally, such factors combine - in varying degrees from person to person - to evoke a pronounced "identity-consciousness" within an individual, one which demands an ideological structuralization of life. And Shepard's parishioner's universally found that philosophical system in Reformed theology, a theology which left its imprint on the content of every relation.

The confessions, too, support the contention that the conversion experience remains constant over time; the findings of G. Stanley Hall, Edwin Starbuck, and William James are as applicable to 1640 as to 1900. But it must be remembered that their psychological model has been tested by the testimony of only a handful of people, living in one particular decade and in one particular historical setting. It provides, nevertheless, an understanding of the natural workings of conversion and offers a model for historians and psychologists to test in other times and places.



**PART II**

**THE CONFESSIONS OF DIVERSE PROPOUNDED TO BE  
RECEIVED & WERE ENTERTAINED AS MEMBERS**

## A NOTE ON THE EDITING

Shepard's manuscript of his Confessions is in a leather-bound volume measuring 5 3/4 by 3 7/8 inches and 3/4 inch thick, of 98 leaves - 30 leaves of which Shepard filled with sermon notes - which is in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. Three of the fifty-one relations preserved in manuscript have been previously printed: Edward Hall's confession is in Lucius R. Paige's History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877, with a Genealogical Register (Boston, 1877) 252-254; Henry Dunster's confession is in Jeremiah Chaplin's Life of Henry Dunster, First President of Harvard College (Boston, 1872), 257-265; and William Manning's confession is in William H. Manning's The Genealogical and Biographical History of the Manning Families of New England and Descendants (Salem, Mass., 1902), 92-95. But what follows is the first edition of the entire set of Confessions.

I have transcribed the Confessions from a Xerox copy of an enlarged reproduction of the manuscript owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society. (Harvard's Houghton Library has the same magnified copy.) But the original manuscript has been regularly consulted. There were several either minutely written or scribbled passages which could be transcribed only from the original. And the reproductions owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society

and Houghton Library do not have one of the confessions (number 50), an omission probably made because the first part of the confession was lost. Samuel A. Tannenbaum's The Handwriting of the Renaissance (New York, 1930) served as my paleographic guide to deciphering Shepard's crabbed handwriting, an example of a hand in transition from the Gothic secretary to the Roman italic style.

There are almost as many editorial policies as there are editors; see, for example, L. H. Butterfield, "Historical Editing in the United States," American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, LXXII (1963), 283-328; Lester J. Cappan, "A Rational for Historical Editing Past and Present," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXIII (1966), 56-75; and Cappan, "American Historical Editors before Jared Sparks," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXX (1973), 375-400. I have adopted the practice of Samuel Eliot Morison, in his 1952 edition of William Bradford's Of Plymouth Plantation, and of Michael McGiffert, in his 1972 edition of Thomas Shepard's Autobiography and Journal, in completely modernizing the capitalization, punctuation, and spelling. Thus euil became evil, woorke became work, and honour became honor. Shepard's many abbreviations - such as h: for hence, h<sup>r</sup> for heart, n<sup>r</sup> for nature, rec: for received, x<sup>t</sup> for Christ, engh for enough, or Jer: for Jeremiah - have been spelled out. Only names, because of the possibility of editorial error, have been bracketed with a suggested full length spelling, Mr. S., for example,

becoming Mr. S[h Shepard]. Paragraphing follows Shepard's, although often an editorial judgment has had to be made in order to determine whether several slash marks were Shepard's period or paragraph indicator; in such cases determinations were made on the basis of the context. Illegible words, damaged pages, or editorial interpolations have been noted with brackets; a question mark within the brackets indicates a suggested transcription of a poorly formed word. Crossed out words, phrases or passages have been omitted.

Shorthand was well developed in the seventeenth century. (See William Matthew's introduction to Thomas Shelton's A Tutor to Tachygraphy, or Short-writing (1642) and his Tachygraphy (1647) published (Los Angeles, 1970) by the Augustan Reprint Society. But Shepard did not use it; hence the Confessions confront the editor with two special problems. First, in a few instances, distracting redundancies appear, probably a result of the speed at which Shepard had to take down the relations. In John Sill's confessions, for example, Shepard wrote:

Now going on in the vse of meanes he thoght  
y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup> any duty was pformed, he thought  
someth. in the duty was a misse.

I have dropped the second "he thought" in an attempt to make the text more intelligible without, in my opinion, impairing its accuracy. Most of the other redundancies were simple repetitions, such as I I or w<sup>C</sup> w<sup>C</sup>. Secondly, Shepard used anpersands for punctuation, and for the sake

of readability, I have replaced sixty-four of them with the appropriate punctuation marks.

All of my editorial revisions might suggest that much of the so-called "flavor" of the documents has been lost. But the true flavor is in the manuscript itself; no trick printing could capture it. And few people, including Puritan scholars (even those trained in paleography), have the time to travel to Boston and absorb that true flavor. A facsimile edition might do, but because of the problems involved with Shepard's handwriting, punctuation, and abbreviation, few could read it. It has seemd wisest, therefore, to render the Confessions into their most readable form, attracting thereby the widest possible audience.



## 1.

Edward Hall (1607-1680) lived at Heddon, Northumberland before coming to Cambridge, probably sailing on the Hercules sometime in 1637. He and his first wife, Margaret, also a member of the Cambridge church, lived on North Avenue and owned land in the Cambridge area, some cattle and an orchard. Margaret died in the winter of 1666, and Hall married Mary Rayner in June of 1667. He became a freeman on May 2, 1638, and periodically performed duties for the town, such as mending fences or tending sheep on the Cambridge common. And in 1663 the town elected him to be one of their three constables.

## Edward Halls Confession

The first means of his good was Mr. Glover's<sup>1</sup> ministry, whereby he saw his misery from Jeremiah 7, the temple of the Lord,<sup>2</sup> and that he was without Christ. But he went from thence to another place under the sense of an undone condition. But in that place he was deprived of the ordinances of God, and hence the scripture came often to mind: what if a man win the world and loose his soul?<sup>3</sup> Hence, he desired to come to that place again, but the minister was gone. But Mr. Jenner<sup>4</sup> came, and by him he saw more evil in himself. But Mr. S[hepard]<sup>5</sup> came, and then the Lord did more clearly

manifest himself to him from John 3, concerning the new birth. And here he saw more of his misery, and that he had followed examples and duties and made them his Christ and lived without Christ. Hereby the Lord let him see he was Christless and built upon false foundations. And by this text he saw himself no new creature but only a mended man. Now, when the Lord did humble him under this, he saw the want of Christ, and that without him he must perish. And afterward John 5:40 was opened, you will not come to me to have life, and here he saw how freely Christ was offered. And hereby the Lord did stay and comfort his spirit. And so [he] was stirred up with more vehemency to seek Christ. And then that promise was opened: the son of man came to seek that which was lost.<sup>6</sup> And he did not know, but the Lord might seek him. And out of that text 1 Peter 2:8 [he heard] that unto you that believe he is precious,<sup>7</sup> and here he saw his unbelieve [i.e., unbelief] in cleaving to Christ by fits and starts. And since the Lord brought him to this place he found his worldliness, and this bred many fears whether ever any work of Christ in him was in truth. And [he feared] that he was one that might fall short of Christ and [feared] that he was humbled but [that] his heart was not deep enough. And hence he was put to more search whether ever he was humbled; yet, the Lord made it more clear from Ephraim's condition, Jeremiah 31:18, that the Lord had made him loath himself, and this made him loath him. And here he hath found more enmity of his heart against



the Lord than ever before. But he, hearing the Lord was willing to take away his enmity, by Revelation 22:17 was brought nearer to the Lord.

2.

Francis Moore (1586-1671) and Katherine,<sup>8</sup> his first wife, left England in the 1630's and brought their two children to Cambridge. They lived on the corner of Holyoke and Mt. Auburn where Katherine, before she died in 1648, bore two more children. Moore married again in 1653, taking Elizabeth Periman for his wife. His occupation is not known, but he may have been a cooper since in 1663 the selectmen granted him an "ash for his trade." Becoming a freeman on May 22, 1638, Moore participated in local government. The townsmen appointed him in 1648 to "see to the order about leather sealing," in 1655 and 1657 he surveyed the fences of the West Field, and in 1659 he became one of Cambridge's three constables. Moore was also active in the Cambridge church, serving as an elder for several years.

## Francis Moore his Confession

The Lord revealed his estate to him that he was miserable. And then he found the flesh resisting and contradicting the Lord, and the Lord showed him that without repentance none could be saved and that there must be sorrow for and hatred of sin. Now, when the Lord had gone thus far with him, he questioned whether his repentance was right or no or whether no farther than the repentance of Cain and Judas.<sup>9</sup> But seeing that he did not only leave the evil but cleave to the contrary good, hence, he concluded it was no feigned work. But, having many doubts afterward, the Lord did show him that Christ came to save those that were lost<sup>10</sup> and so him - not only in general sinners but himself. And hereby the Lord wrought farther humiliation and sorrow for sin [in the] past. And then, applying that promise: those that mourn and hunger shall be comforted and satisfied,<sup>11</sup> there arose that question whether he did mourn under his misery truly or no. Now here the spirit of God did seal to his soul that he was truly humbled - not only broken for but from sin with detestation of it - and hence was a new creature and hence was received to mercy.

Since that time the Lord hath made his estate more clear. Yet many sins [he] committed and so hath questioned whether ever this work was wrought or no that after such infinite love he should depart from God. Yet the Lord set on that word. Tho he had such a heart to abase his grace,

yet [he thought] that [the] Lord was unchangeable in himself and so in his love, and that, Christ being come to seek and save that which is lost, [there was hope]. Yet, after his relapse he conceived tho [i.e., that] it was not possible [that] the Lord should [have] pity [on him]; yet, hearing to him that believes all things are possible<sup>12</sup> and that tho he had backslid yet returning to the Lord there was rich love, this drew his heart to the Lord again because his love was unchangeable.

His relapse was thus. First, the Lord forsook him, and then [Moore] fell from him to loose company and so to drunkenness. And then the Lord broke his soul the more for what he had done. But before the Lord forsook him he fell to security [and] to profane the Sabbath.

Other relapses he finds as security, sloth, sleepiness, and contenting himself in ordinances without the God of them. Yet, the Lord recalls him usually back again. He said he knew this mourning, after his relapse, to be genuine because it did more endear his heart to the Lord and [cause him] to walk more humbly.

### 3.

Elizabeth Olbon (d. before 1668) emigrated from Derby, Derbyshire, before 1636. In Cambridge she met James Luxford, a herdsman; they were married prior to 1637 and lived on Holyoke Street.

Elizabeth had one child and a baby, Reuden,<sup>13</sup> on the way before she, or at least the Cambridge authorities, discovered James had another wife in England. The matter came before the General Court, and on December 3, 1639, the court decided that "James Luxford being presented for having two wives, his last marriage was declared void or a nullity thereof, and to be divorced, not to come to the sight of her whom he last took, and he to be sent away for England by the first opportunity; all that he hath is appointed to her whom he last married, for her and her children. He is also fined  $\frac{1}{2}$ 100, for to be set in the stocks an hour upon a market day, after the lecture the next lecture day if the weather permit; or else the next lecture day after." But Luxford's troubles, and Elizabeth's embarrassment, did not cease with his conviction for bigamy. On May 13, 1640, the court found him guilty of "forgery, lying, and other foul offences," and sentenced him to be "bound to the whipping post till the lecture from the first bell, and after the lecture to have his ears cut off." He then had the "liberty to depart" from the area, which he seems to have taken. Elizabeth

weathered the scandal, remained in Cambridge,  
and married a Mr. Cole sometime after 1645.

Goodman Luxford his wife

From a speech of a sister, who said she was going to means, I, going from it, was stirred. And by her conversation mine was condemned. And hence she desired to live from her and to go to another place. And there she was troubled and desired to go and live again with her, whereby she saw more of her sin. And, living under a minister at Derby, [she heard] where the Lord, 2 Thessalonians 1:10, that Christ, would come in fire to render vengeance to all that knew him not.<sup>14</sup> Hence she saw her own condition; she knew him not. And so sin was heavy, and she was no possibility how to get out of it. And he, showing what sin a man must see before he could be humbled, here did show many sins especially the sin of pride. Yet [she was] burdened. And, speaking with her, he pressed her rather to be fitted for comfort than to seek for comfort. And, [considering] what the Lord had wrought upon one or two of her friends, she saw so few to be saved - two of a family - that she thought she should not [be saved]. Then, hearing with God all things are possible,<sup>15</sup> this stayed her. But yet she went under many scoffs and scorns, and [they] tempted her to look back, but [she resisted], thinking of that place: he that sets his hand to plow and looks back is not fit for the kingdom of God.<sup>16</sup>

And, [hearing] out of the place of the Proverbs: the prudent man foresees the evil and hides himself,<sup>17</sup> there she saw that [which] she never found before, which was the bitterness of sin we brought into the world. And there he showed how we should see it, and then he showed what that hiding place was. But seeing her evil she saw she had no right to it, which hiding place was Christ. But, hearing that a soul must be contented to lie under the punishment of his sin, there he showed how all discontent did arise from pride. And then he preached: to him I look that is poor and humble and that trembles at my word.<sup>18</sup> But she fell to much evil in her own heart. She thought it [was] impossible [that] so poor a creature should be saved or received to mercy. And so fell down in discouragements. And then, hearing arise and be doing and the Lord will be with you,<sup>19</sup> this quickened her again. And then she saw the Lord could but knew not whether the Lord would help her or no. Hence the Lord gave her a heart earnestly to seek after him. And, hearing they that mourn should be comforted,<sup>20</sup> she felt she could not mourn. And then she saw how duties could not help her because a man in prison must be always paying his debts. And, hearing from 2 Corinthians 5:20: I beseech you be reconciled unto God, yet she felt her will contrary to this, but yet it stayed her heart for a time, and some comfort it gave. But it stayed not long. And then she heard: whoever is athirst come and buy without money.<sup>21</sup> Now she saw she had no money; yet,

hearing they that come to Christ might have comfort, then she felt fain [because] she would have somewhat of Christ and something of her own. And [by] that teaching; blessed are those that hunger and thirst after Christ, she saw she longed after Christ to save and sanctify. And then she saw no unclean thing should enter into heaven; yet she saw she might come to a [illegible word] Christ, and that she found the hardest thing in the world to do. Yet by this [i.e., these] scriptures out of Isaiah and Matthew he let her feel his love.

Since she came hither she hath found her heart [a] more dead and dull thing. And, being in much sickness when she came first into the land, she saw how vain a thing it was to put confidence in any creature. But yet it wrought some discontent in her own spirit.

But [she] hath since witnessed the Lord's love to her. Sometime[s she has] a heart to run and sometime[s] to sit still in the Lord's way.

#### 4.

George Willis (1601-1690) came to Cambridge in the 1630's and married Jane Palfrey, a widow with two children. They lived on Garden Street, adding two boys to their family by 1644. The time of Jane's death is unknown - in 1658 she was still in full communion with the Cambridge

church - but Willis married a second wife,  
Sarah, sometime before his death in 1690. He  
became a freeman on May 2, 1638.

#### George Willowes his Confession

It pleased the Lord to carry him on in a civil course a long time. But going to a friend's house he broke the Sabbath, and, coming to hear a minister preach against that sin, he was terrified by it. And so [he] lay under the anger of God, and the sense of it, and so saw nothing but hell due to him. But [he] saw not all this while the evil of sin, but under [a] sense of wrath [he] was sick after Christ and longed after him. And so after this [he] was brought under more powerful ordinances, and [he saw] that he rested in his duties and ordinances. And now he was as much terrified with corruption as before at wrath, and now he saw the deadness of his heart under ordinances. And the more he did strive against corruption the more he was overcome by corruption, and then [he] thought: Oh, if I could but mourn under sin then I should be happy. But he could not. But yet hearing Isaiah 40, [the] ultimate, he gives strength to them that have no strength,<sup>22</sup> this gave him peace and support. And further [he] heard Isaiah 30:6-7, their strength is to set still in his ordinances. And then, hearing that Christ came to seek them that are lost,<sup>23</sup> [he saw] the only way [was to] ask the Lord [to]



save me. I thought if he would look upon me a lost creature how should I admire the Lord. And this promise did stay his heart: If he comes to seek the lost why then not me?

And so he was carried to long after Christ Jesus and heard those are blessed that did hunger and thirst.<sup>24</sup> Yet he had no power to lay hold upon me [i.e., Christ] unless the Lord did draw his heart to himself.

Since this the Lord hath revealed himself and drawn himself to him by his ordinances.

Since I came hither that hath been my grief that I walked no more closely with God [here than] in the place where I came [from].

The Lord revealed Christ unto me by revealing the fullness of the riches of grace and help in Christ.<sup>25</sup>

## 5.

John Sill (d. ca. 1658) and his wife, Jonna<sup>26</sup> lived in Newcastle, Northumberland, among other places, before coming to Cambridge with their two children about 1637. After they arrived certain difficulties arose, and John complained that "somethings coming in my way that troubled my mind for my place of settling." But by May 2, 1638, he attained freemanship, and the following year purchased a house, with a garden

and a "backside," on the southeast corner of Eliot and Winthrop streets.

### The Confession of John Sill

He was brought up in an ignorant place; yet God took away those that maintained him. Hence he went to some other place, and there he saw an alteration both in place, people, and means, and he thought that it was better with him there than elsewhere. So, approving of their ways, he fell to imitate them. And so by the ministry [of] James 1:23-24 - be ye doers not hearers only<sup>27</sup> - it pleased the Lord to point him out that he was the man to whom the minister did then speak; that [he] had lived under means and been a hearer and not a doer. And so he saw himself lying under the wrath due to such, and this did work sadly upon him and the more by keeping it secret. He saw no hope of help in that condition but [thought he] might look out for another. [Having] those directions and means in the ministry, the Lord did help him in some measure to use them. And now came in this temptation; such and such perverters, whose example you imitate, you think are God's people but if they were the Lord's he would prosper and love them and let others know that they were the Lord's. And so [he] was staggered but helped by Jeremiah 12:1 a little. And, having got some help against that, another temptation followed. Those that are the Lord's people they are people of parts and gifts

and so and so qualified, but for his own part he did not find it so. And hence [he] thought the Lord had no thoughts of him, and hence [he] was cut off almost from looking for mercy from the Lord because he found himself not like them. And, remaining thus, it pleased the Lord to give him scriptures against this from Matthew 11:25: I thank thee that thou hast hid these things from wise and prudent ones. And hence he thought the Lord might help him. Then after this came a third temptation, viz., whether Christ was the son of God or no. For then the Lord helped me to look after him, and this sat sadly. It was fearful to doubt, and yet he could not make it out that it was indeed so. Hence the Lord helped him with Matthew 17:5, 8, they heard a voice, for he thought [even] if there was a Christ there might be some[one] else, but they saw none but Jesus.

Then arose a fourth temptation. How would I prove this was scripture which said he was the son of God? And this was a long season before he could do this. Yet [the] Lord brought 2 Peter 1: you have a sure word of prophesy whereto ye should attend till you be, etc.<sup>28</sup> And he thought: 1. They were holy men. 2. They speak were from the Holy Ghost. And these were undeniable endeavors to prove that these were scriptures. And so [I] came out of these temptations.

Now, going on in the use of means, he thought that when any duty was performed something in the duty was amiss,

and so [he] thought that all he did was to no purpose. And, being in conference with a young man, he said [the] means he did use he had no comfort [in] because something he saw amiss. Then he said: wherefore serves Christ if we could serve God perfectly [and] 1 John 2:1-2 if any sin we have an advocate with the father. This did well his heart. And the Lord made him to look not upon him so, and then the Lord helped him to look up toward him by that means [of] Isaiah 50:12: he that hear and obeyeth let him trust in the Lord and stay himself upon God.<sup>29</sup> This stayed him. And here he found much hardness [and] deadness and, seeing many promises made by conditionally, [this] made his heart stand here. But at last he saw the Lord had promised to work the condition, and hence, [being] in the sense of the want of the condition, [he decided] to go to the Lord to work it. And here he found the Lord silent long, [but from] Exodus 6:4-5 he saw, being Jehovah, that he would do it, and from Habakkuk 2:3 [he saw] the vision is for a certain time and it will come and not lie. And so the Lord made him see that the promise is for an appointed time and then it shall speak.

Then by one minister, preaching out of his fullness one receives grace for grace, there he answered all his objections against closing with the Lord. And so, having continued in this place, then in those times the heart was much taken up in secret meditation. And, being so, then when sin or Satan came to draw his heart from God the Lord

helped him so to see it before it came, [so] as to be delivered from it. And here he found much sweet communion with the Lord in meditation, and here the heart was not much taken off from the Lord. And this was then presented that if he took that course he should not only expose himself to melancholy but to a consumption. And so [he] was beaten down again and, looking upon this frame, it cost him something in sorrow for it.

Then the Lord stirred up men that neither sought God's honor nor his grace to put him forth to suffer for the cause of God. And, being glued to the place, he considered whether it was not better to suffer than to cast himself upon dangers in flying. Many ministers and others took his case to heart and sought God and could not tell what to say. And it pleased God then to bring Mr. Glover<sup>30</sup> to him, coming out of Lancashire, and I and he should think of it. And the counsel was that he should not stir till he saw the Lord leading him and [to] be contented to be where he will have him. But in this interim the case was clear. And [he] was brought to Northumberland. Some told him of Mr. S[hepard],<sup>31</sup> but he thought things could not be so as reports went. Men might advise, but it was not so. I was desired to go to hear him, [but] going with a prejudicial opinion the word had not that efficacy upon him. And, teaching of the branch [in] John 15:5 and [from] Revelation 22:17: take water of life freely, after [the] sermons were done some asked [me] how I liked [them]. I spoke very

tartly. But next day - I having [a] conference with some - I wished them to take heed upon what grounds they believed what I [i.e., Shepard] taught. And my heart was against him. So diverse people came to him to hear the notes, and so he read over the notes, and reading them over to them the Lord let him see there was more in them than I apprehended. And so [that] night in prayer he was convinced of that sin in being set against him. And from something that he caught [the] next day - and before - he was put to a plunge and so to question what was formerly done. And sometime[s] he could not [know] what to say concerning his condition, and [he] desired others to keep them away. But it pleased God to help him [from] John 3 and from Romans 5:6, [showing] how far he might be enlightened, wounded, [and] terrified. [So] that from these things he was much troubled. But he could not conclude all to be naught, but blessed God he did hear those things. And by how much the more his heart was against him by so much the more afterward was his heart knit to him. So for some of the promises that did stay me, formerly of then, there was more than I can now remember or call to mind, but sometimes [the scripture] come to me all that are weary<sup>32</sup> [helped]. And at that time, being troubled from Romans 5, there [were] somethings [in which] a child of God went beyond a hypocrite, and so in examining [for] those things he found [them]. And so [they helped him] to clear up himself.

In that estate of poverty of spirit some [help came

from] Romans 6, sin shall not have dominion,<sup>33</sup> and [from] Ezekiel 36, I will take away the stony heart.<sup>34</sup>

Since this time I came hither. Upon my first coming I thought that then my heart was in a pretty frame, but being here some little time - and somethings coming in my way that troubled my mind for my place of settling - my heart began to be troubled and so lost that frame I had. And sometimes the word did trouble me and take up my mind with some opposition and striving against it; yet, there was not that against it which I desired. Then upon an occasion at a lecture [I heard] Colossians 3: if risen seek things above.<sup>35</sup> I saw the thing more fully, and by this means I had some power against them. I have found much deadness and security, and then the Lord [spoke] out of John 13:4-5, [showing] there when a Christian is to reflect upon his own glory. He was made to look upon that [and saw] it should not be so with one that professed. And so the Lord helped him out of that.

So from Matthew 25 the Lord let me see the truth and [my] provocations, and how it comes by degrees; the Lord hath let him see something.

Question: How came you to see your sin?

Answer: Seeing myself only a bare hearer, I saw my vileness.

## 6.

Joanna Sill (d. ca. 1671) came to Cambridge with her husband, John,<sup>36</sup> from Newcastle, Northumberland around 1637. She joined the church about 1639. In 1653 she was made attorney for Susann Blackiston, a widow, also of Newcastle, to recover debts owed to her by Anne Errington,<sup>37</sup> a widow, Andrew Stevenson, a cobbler, John Trumble, a cooper, and Thomas Chesholme, a tailor, which they incurred while living at Newcastle but were then residents of New England. Joanna never remarried after her husband died. Instead, she maintained the family estate and received land grants in 1662 and 1665.

## The Confession of John Sill his Wife

It pleased the Lord to help him to attend upon the Lord, and Mr. Hieron<sup>38</sup> falling<sup>39</sup> Dr. Jenison<sup>40</sup> had this text [from] Matthew 11: Woe to thee Corazin, and woe to thee Capernaum.<sup>41</sup> And here [I] was much troubled. And I was much troubled, then the Lord laid a sad affliction upon me, as I saw all my sins in order and apprehended nothing but death and wrath. And diverse ministers came to apply [the] promise, but I could apply none. Yet, when almost ready to sink, from 139[th] Psalm, seeing that the Lord knew her and



that she could not fly from him, [she] here stayed. Then she heard Mr. Glover<sup>42</sup> [preach on] Psalms 136 - the Lord hath done great things for us and we rejoice - reproving them that came not affected with great things. And from 15 Jeremiah [she heard]: thou hast forsaken me for I am weary of repenting,<sup>43</sup> and so she thought God would destroy her. And so she desiring to live under his ministry, so she did. And every sermon and word [she was] ready [word inserted, illegible] to sink, and the Lord stayed her sometime by: seeking them that are lost<sup>44</sup> and not to call righteous but sinners.<sup>45</sup> Then she stayed. Yet in a doubting condition she was. He being gone, she could not be quiet but followed him and lived under his ministry four years. And tho he applied promise, yet she could apply none till at pit's brink, ready to sink. And from Zechariah 13:1 she saw she was unclean.

Then - coming to Northumberland [and] hearing from Matthew 25 Lord, Lord<sup>46</sup> - she saw there a maid['s] need of Christ. Yet she could not apply him. And many afflictions she had, [but she] never tripped out of [the] way but [what came] inward terrors or miseries without. And then she saw [the] sin she had committed; it troubled [her].

Since she came hither her heart went after the world and vanities. And the Lord absented himself from her, so that she thought God had brought her hither on purpose to discover her. And, tho she did not neglect<sup>47</sup> duties, yet she found no presence of God there, as at other

times. Then, hearing out of Matthew 25 [of] them that had false principles, she had no oil in her vessel.<sup>48</sup> And she thought she was not so good as a hypocrite for she never came so far. And so God hid himself. And [she] fell into a sinking condition - and could not lay hold on a promise nor call God, Father - but Hosea 14:4 supported her in the fatherly, fine mercy. And so she saw her nature how vile it [was]. She heard [that] many see this and that sin and then see not their nature. There she saw her nature, and so she was discouraged. And, being desired to lay under the Lord, she thought it could not stand with God herein to show mercy to one professor so long.

And so [she was discouraged], seeing more and more of that vileness. But hearing in a day of humiliation that if she sought the Lord with [her] whole heart [she might] find [him]. She found not that heart but resolved to try the Lord whether he would help. And then hearing Isaiah 28, he that believeth must not haste,<sup>49</sup> she resolved not to hasten the Lord; let him do what he would with her. And, [hearing] that of Lamentations why should a living man complain for his sin,<sup>50</sup> she thought she was living but found it hard if the Lord should damn her and never show mercy. Yet [she was willing] to be content. But [the] Lord in some measure subdued her cursed will to lie at [the] feet of mercy; let him do what he would. Not long after, having a day of fast, the Lord helped her to seek him. And the day after, which at her calling, she had much joy and

consolation from Luke 1: blessed is he that believeth.<sup>51</sup>  
 But she could not believe, indeed, and she knew not where she was. Then she questioned whether it was true joy. But going some she saw nothing, and [she questioned herself], hearing that a deluding spirit drew [the] heart nearer to God and e contra.

But after this [her] joy was gone, and then there was [i.e., were] questions what her grounds were. And she could not believe; but she found a will that would not believe, tho she did pray that the Lord would [help]. But hearing all that [the] father [has] given shall come, John 6,<sup>52</sup> so she thought I will go to the Lord, but [she] could not. Then [she] thought: Lord, if thou hast elected me. But [she was] in deep distress [and heard] Zechariah 12:10: They shall look and mourn. There she saw she could not [blurred word] in that blood which was shed for her. And hence, considering God commanded her and condemned her for not believing, [she was distressed], and this brought her to long for Christ. Then [hearing] Revelation 22:17, let whoever will drink, there she thought she drank of that promise. So [she heard] Isaiah 55:1 [and] Matthew 5: Blessed [are they that] hunger and thirst in [the world] because of sorrow of holiness of Christ.<sup>53</sup> The virgins love thee.<sup>54</sup>

## 7.

Nathaniel Eaton (ca. 1609-1674), first head of Harvard College, took his early education in England; he studied at Westminster School, and in 1629 at Trinity College, Cambridge. He did not remain at Trinity long enough to earn his degree, and in 1632 he went to London to reside with his brother, Theophilus Eaton, afterwards the governor of New Haven colony. The next year he was in Franeker, Holland, studying under William Ames, a renowned Puritan minister, and there published a Latin pamphlet on Sabbatarian doctrines in 1633. Eaton returned to England and taught school at two different places before emigrating to New England in 1637. At Cambridge, he was admitted to the church, granted freemanship on June 9, 1638, and appointed head of Harvard. He was soon in trouble, however, turning out to be avaricious and cruel to his students. He punished his pupils with "between twenty and thirty stripes at a time" and embezzled college funds. Eaton, in 1639, went too far when he beat his usher, Nathaniel Briscoe, with "a walnut-tree plant big enough to have killed a horse and a yard in length" for "about the space of two hours." The Boston court removed him from office, revoked

his right to teach in the Bay, and fined him.<sup>55</sup> Eaton quickly fled to New Hampshire and then to Virginia, where he became assistant rector of Hungar's parish, Northampton County. His wife and children were lost at sea the next year en route to Virginia. Eaton returned to England in 1646, took the degrees of Ph.D. and M.D. from the University of Padua in 1647 and became vicar of Bishop's Castle, Shropshire, in 1661 and rector of Bideford, Devon, in 1668. He died, a prisoner for debt, in King's Bench prison, Southwark, in 1674.

#### Mr. Eatons Confession

My education was in a religious manner. [It was] from a cradle that I was trained up to read scripture and, frequenting means, in the appearance of some made a progress. But, coming from under the wings of [my] parents to Westminster and Cambridge, the hidden corruption of my own heart [I] came to discover it: in open sins, in Sabbath breaking, and [in] company keeping. Yet in all this time I was not left without a testimony within. My conscience was confirmed that my ways were of death, which did things. And the Lord did still hedge in my ways with thorns, but from sin to sin the Lord followed me with frowns from friends, but these could do nothing for me. But coming

from [the] university to London I heard a sermon from Amos 4 prepare to meet thy God.<sup>56</sup> The conveyance of it was from second verse: he would catch them by hooks and God had smit[ten] them yet they return not.<sup>57</sup> And the issue was, as [to them, so] I will do this unto thee; the Lord was come to his last warning. If [they return] not, the Lord would do this unto them. And God set on this in a sad manner. And [I began] to apply the particular to any condition, and [I thought] that now perhaps the Lord was come to the last warning. The words did not sit upon me much at first, yet always when I went to my company this chapter and verse was before my eye, and I carried the Lord's terrors. And at last when I could stand it out no longer; then I laid down my sin and set some days apart. And, pressing the Lord for mercy, yet I did not seek the Lord to answer me, but I spoke words in the air. And so I thought the time of visitation was past, and that it was with me as with Esau.<sup>58</sup> It was very sad to me for the present, and [I was] cast down by it. But the temptation grew upon me: Why should I seek the Lord anymore and, seeing I should have no position but in this world, better not to take this than to loose the Lord also? And temptation so far prevailed, as that I neglected all - Satan having found the house swept<sup>59</sup> - and I was worse. Yet I never went on with peace in any sin. And [the] Lord at last brought this place to my thoughts of Simon Magus, who tho in gall of bitterness, yet, he was advised if perhaps by praying [the] Lord might forgive

any.<sup>60</sup> The Lord blessed this unto me. Yet I resolved to seek and wait on the Lord and to resolve to perish at [the] hands of God. Then the Lord put it in the hearts of my friends to go beyond [the] sea to Dr. Ames.<sup>61</sup> And there I used praying and frequented means, but I received no comfort nor did [at] all meet with the Lord in any duty. But yet I went on in the duty till Dr. Ames, expounding divinity, [observed] that God must be the first and last in every service and that it was a[n] idolatry for a man to exalt a man's self above the Lord. And this made me see why my duties were empty because [other] men performed out of love to the Lord, and this I could not [do] because I could not see any evidence of the Lord's love to me. To neglect duties I durst not, and to do out of love I could not. And hence I begged the Lord, [hoping he] would manifest something unto me that I might love him, else all my duties would not be sweet. And when I considered [the] common mercy that I was alive, that many were in hell, that there was scripture on this side of the pit, and, too, I saw I had not only time but I had a light to know how to use it there was some work of God upon my spirit. It was not for wrath that God had spent so much prayers upon me, and this gave me glimmering hopes of the Lord that [he] had gone so far as that there might be more behind. And sure I was that the Lord had given me cause to se[e] that I should love him, tho I saw no more. Hence I went to prayer that the Lord would work my heart to a love to himself, and I

did find my heart not so [inclined to] come off so deadly as before.

I could not see I did love the Lord as I should, and I saw more unwillingness in me than to stand with love. I did not see my heart closing with the Lord. Yet, the Lord revealed more unto me the freeness of his love in Christ and that it could not stain the Lord's nature [to] deny [love to me nor should I come] to depend on his decree on anything I did. And hence I did think the Lord might reveal his love to me in time and that by Christ. And hence the Lord did draw my heart to close with Christ. I saw an emptiness in myself; there was no grace or peace there nor nothing in the creature. They were empty, and hence I saw there was life revealed, and the life in Christ. And here I went to the Lord. [Thinking] that since none could come to Christ unless the Father did draw him, here I did seek he would draw my heart. And hereupon I found I did not live without Christ in the word, in Sabbaths, and [in] prayers, especially if any open the door I will come to him<sup>62</sup> [or] if any love me I and my father will love him and will manifest myself unto him.<sup>63</sup> And hereupon I saw I was come to him, and that the promise did belong to me that I should be desired and that the Lord would dwell with me. And so I stayed upon the Lord and rested there. And then I went to England, and the Lord betrustrusted me with [the] care of bringing up of children. I labored to keep a good conscience, tho what dangers, and to seek to keep my scholar



in the observation of the Sabbath day and so to leave the issue unto him. And from this place I was called to another place, but the place was profane and [had] but one sermon, and [the] people [were] haters of the truth. Yet, being encouraged by religious friends, thither I went. But I found I lost much of God's presence and the temptations were too strong for me. But they visited me. I must do the like for them. And if I was familiar with any that were godly they would dissuade and, hence, [I was a] strength to them. And this cost me many prayers. And at last I saw if I would keep a good conscience I must leave it; so I was in many thoughts to leave the place. But I left [i.e., let] fall my thoughts against [removal], and so I began to settle. But when things were in this agitation, they intimated to me their resolutions to come hither. And they spent some time in reasoning about the common prayer book and church government, and before they had done I saw the truth and was persuaded to close with it. And so I resolved to come along with them. And hence before I came I did manifest and witness against the place and their manners and proceedings. And afterward I saw what cause [I had] to be humbled for loosing my first love,<sup>64</sup> and hence I questioned with me whether the Lord had not a controversy against me for loosing my first love and closing with the enemy. And I lost my assurance. And, at last, that of Samuel 12 came to him: the Lord would not cast off his people because he had chosen me to be his peoples.<sup>65</sup>

And [I] found that time the Lord hath cleared his love to me and to give me greater [experience?] of it. Only since I came hither I have not found my heart to walk so closely with God as I should. And, when my heart hath been ready to cast off all, God's love hath awakened me and hath not suffered me to relapse but to rise again, etc., and persuaded me that the seeds cast upon me shall last unto eternal life.<sup>66</sup>

#### 8.

Christopher Cane (d. 1653) was in Cambridge as early as 1634. He and his wife, Margery, had five children, which were all baptized in the Cambridge church. Cane probably became a member of the church sometime in 1638, and Margery was in full communion prior to 1658. They lived first on Dunster Street, which Cane sold in 1638, and then on the southeast corner of Brighton and Winthrop streets. Margery survived her husband thirty-five years. She did not remarry and received land grants in 1662 and 1665.

#### Christopher Cane his Confession

The minister<sup>67</sup> showed [that] God would work a new heart; I

saw I was unable. And then [I heard] Mr. Wilson,<sup>68</sup> preaching of [the] signs of them that love Christ, and I found none of them. And, hearing [the] signs of God's departing, I resolved to follow the Lord wherever I went. And hither I came where I grew secure. And, hearing four sorts of hypocrites laid down, I began to inquire where I was. And then I thought God would not hear when we cried. Yet, hearing [the] people of God might be forsaken - out of Psalms 119 - but not finally and seeing that it was good to perish in use of means, that I resolved to do. And, hearing that Christ foresaw all [the] elects' sins past and to come, and that they were all charged on him,<sup>69</sup> hearing this, I thought unless this was for me I was undone. And, hearing that of Ephraim bemoaning himself,<sup>70</sup> I revived.

## 9.

Robert Daniel (ca. 1592-1655), a husbandman, settled first in Watertown but moved to Cambridge in 1636, purchasing a few years later a house with land and a garden. By his first wife, Elizabeth, who died in 1643, he had one girl born in 1642. He married Reanna, widow of William Andrew, a little over a year before his death, adding five step-children to his family. Daniel became a freeman on March 14, 1639, and was chosen as a surveyor of

highways in 1640, 1641, and 1647.

### The Confession of Goodman Daniell

The best and choicest of my time was spent in a civil course of life. Friends and others [did] not [help me by] questioning my estate. But yet the Lord made me see my case to be miserable and so carried [me] many years under a spirit of bondage and fear of God's wrath. Yet when my soul was at [its] lowest the Lord held forth some testimony of love. But yet I did depend upon him without assurance. And after this I had some assurance for whenever I did delight in my promise after[ward] I felt I did not. And in former times it was for fear of punishment, but now all my trouble is because I want a heart to honor God. And now the chiefest desire [of my heart] is that I may live to honor him, tho I find myself barren and fruitless.

Thus, generally, one particular question asked. This he answered. 1. How did the Lord bring you out of that estate of security unto a state of fear and spirit of bondage?

Answer: I sinned against God after light - others did not - and hence I [was] the greatest of sinners. This was [seen] by attending to the word; [I did] so, fearing the wrath of God.

And hence I sought to God for mercy and resolutions of heart against sin. I was convinced

of [my] sin against [the] Sabbath, yet that sin against resolutions over came it again. And I found my will [exuding?] contrary to the will of God, tho I have seen more of my own enmity than before.

The wrath of God I apprehend to be the casting of [the] soul from [the] presence of God.

2. How hath the Lord brought you out of this estate unto the Lord['s] presence?

Answer: In this estate I saw how just it was for the Lord to destroy me; yet, the Lord put me to rest and rely upon his mercy.

1. Question: Did you find it hard to lie down and yield to mercy?

Answer: [No], [I yielded] by seeing the equity of it for my own vileness.

2. Question: How did the Lord draw you to mercy?

Answer: Seeing his love to me, [I came]. Secondly, seeing the freeness of his mercy, [it drew me]. And when he saw no [or only] some likelihood [of mercy], [such] as Christ [being] mine, [he said]: Yet I would seek, tho I did perish.

3. Question: How came you to assurance?

Answer: [I came] by feeling a qualification, a moving, not only for wrath but because of my sins to sin against such a God.

4. How have you walked with God and what effects have you found of mercy in this land?

Answer: Faith hath been wrought more and Christ more revealed, more savingly, unto me.

I fall short in that obedience that should be, which is my burden when I see how the Lord hath led me.

#### 10.

Nathaniel Sparhawk (1598-1647) came to Cambridge with his son and first wife, Mary,<sup>71</sup> from Dedham, Essex, sometime before 1636. They lived on Brighton Street but owned several other houses and considerable land in the area - at his death a thousand acres were sold from his estate. He became a freeman on May 23, 1639, and in the same year was "permitted to draw wine and strong water for Cambridge." For a time he was a deacon in the Cambridge church. Mary gave birth to five more children before she died in 1644. He had two more children by his second wife, Katherine, who survived him only by a month.

#### Mr. Sparhawke his Confession

In my childhood his mother took much pains with him. The

Lord inclined his heart toward himself when he came to some understanding, and then the Lord let me see my estate was such and not to be trusted unto. And, seeing the people of God changed [and] in another condition and the means appointed for that end, hence in ordinary and extraordinary means he sought the Lord. And here he abode in his own strength striving for a better condition, looking to means - and the best means - which was precious in many places. Yet all could not help. Sometimes he had some warnings of heart and convictions under means as brought him to look to the Lord and his people with a loving heart, not only rich but poor also. And sometime[s] it pleased the Lord to let in himself in a gracious manner, [while] in the meditation of those things which [the] Lord made known, [so] that I could walk up and down the room rejoicing in him and hitting those out of the window that were otherwise employed.

Sometimes the Lord, especially in a fast day morning, refreshed my heart at Dedham. And so God inclined my heart to close with the Lord [to the] most. But on the fast day morning, desiring to be alone and to bewail my condition and there entreating reconciliation, the Lord revealed himself so as never before with abundance of the sweetness of himself which, [while] rejoicing, made me to break out to weeping. And hardly could I refrain from speaking to others to let them see what [the] Lord had done. But that day he found [the] best of God, and [his] heart

[was] locked up when most [filled] with the thought to find love nearest.

And so the Lord after this made me see more and more [of] my follies, tho my life had been ever fair. Yet, I saw my natural disposition to other ways, and yet [the] Lord stood behind me with his voice saying: this is [the] way walk in it.<sup>72</sup>

Now, coming to deal in the world and seeing others distrusting of God's providence, he was full of carking cares till a servant of his spoke to me, [encouraging me] to walk with God and saying that the liberal man shall have plenty<sup>73</sup> and that God was able to provide. And this counsel I took, and [the] Lord helped me over it. But when the Lord cast in blessings in my calling I let out my heart to eagerly after them, when it should have been drawn nearer to him. Yet the Lord did not let me go on so. But [I began] to attend [only] on the means and to [let them] carry me in a course and form of worshipping him. And the means, I thought, had been sufficient to work that which yet I see my soul awaiting in. And thus I did lie long in this condition, and sometime[s] thought I was cast out of [the] favor of God. And yet the Lord made me plead with him and to remember his commandments, finding daily the fruit of prayer, here I kept and held.

But the Lord let me see that I looked to men too much, and that the old score was not crossed [out], and hence I had no rest but desired to come to New England to



enjoy them in purity. And [the Lord] helped me to be contented tho in a prosperous way. Yet I thought the [Church of England's] superstitions clouded God in [its] ordinances, and here [I] thought to find power and thought to prize means here. But the Lord hath helped me to see my own heart reaching after things of this world. But the Lord hath let me see the insufficiency of means. And the Lord hath let me see I might look to the Lord Jesus in it and in all means. But the assurance of Lord's love I have not found. In sad times of temptation I have had great support from [God], which I have [also] had in coming.

Since I came hither I have seen [in myself] a spirit of enmity and looking after great things, but [the] Lord hath much abated them. And lately [the Lord] hath let me see my enmity; when I saw others filled with spiritual good, my soul could not bear it. But the Lord hath let me see it [i.e., the scripture]: Is thy eye evil because mine is good and may I not do with mine own as I list?<sup>74</sup> And the Lord hath lately let me hear his voice in [everything and see] his hand in my family.

I cannot remember many things when I come to express myself. And the Lord brought to mind the story of [the] withered hand,<sup>75</sup> [and] that [to heal] it was in his power. And I have entreated the Lord to help my unbelief and other things, whereby I found my heart enlarged.

## 11.

Mary Angier (d., 1644), wife of Nathaniel Sparhawk,<sup>76</sup> lived at Dedham, Essex with her husband and child before coming to Cambridge prior to 1636. They lived on Brighton Street, where she had five more children before her death in 1644. Mary probably joined the church at the same time her husband did or, at least, in the same year of 1639.

## Mrs. Sparhawk's Confession

She had parents that kept her from gross sins. Yet living under a powerful ministry of Mr. Rogers,<sup>77</sup> of Dedham, she was convinced that her estate was miserable. Yet these convictions did often wear off.

And when God changed her estate she went to a place of more ignorance and so rested more quietly. Yet, [living] under powerful means, [she] had often stings. But, finding no good she thought: better [to] sit still than go [to means]. Yet, considering that it was the means appointed [for her] to go [to], she went. And hearing of New England she thought if [there was] any good place it was. But, when her husband was resolved to come, she feared if God should not help [her there] all would rise to greater condemnation. Yet one she spoke to this of said: Tho sure to go to hell, yet go under means. And I thought here I

should be kept from many sins - and even [the temptation] to betray [the] people of God - but [I] thought this temptation would not be if [I came] here. Yet [I was] unwilling to come from this fear of no blessing. Yet, thinking that her children might get [some] good, [she decided] it would be worth my journey. And Mr. Wilson<sup>78</sup> in praying said it: Maybe, Lord, thou dost deny to do good to [her] till [she] come[s] thither. And this gave her more cheerfulness of spirit. And so she came to the ship, thinking to get good, but there she found her heart more hard and [un]sensible.

But, [although she] hoped to be better here than worse, [she was worse] than ever before; every sermon made her worse. And [she] sat like a block under all means and thought God had left her to a hard heart and that her fears were come upon her.

Hence I thought, if we were there where I [had] purposed to abide, there I might find [mercy], and hence I could not desire to be here. But here, continuing under means, the Lord made me more and more sensible of my condition, and so my condition [was] very sad. Yet she durst not neglect any public means and thought that the Lord might speak something now. Yet [she] saw herself far from humiliation and thought it was a shame [for anyone] to discover her condition.

But, hearing better to begin twice than to go to hell once, so she thought that none could think bad things

of her. But she could not speak to anybody and thought also that they would not be plain with her.

And [for] sometime keeping her condition closed, tho sometime[s] sinking the Lord carried [her] to Roxbury. And - hearing of fears, if they [were] carried to Lord they were good, etc., and [the minister] speaking of them that kept their conditions [secret] that some were [now] in hell lamenting it - hereupon she resolved to make her condition known. But speaking with one who did encourage her, who was odious to her, she continued under means and grew worse and worse. And so [she] thought it was in vain to use any more means and began to neglect [the] Lord in private. Yet one of [her] neighbors [came with counsel]; speaking of her condition [in] coming to her, wishing her to leave the Lord to his own ways, telling her that it may be [soon that] the Lord would let her see her blindness and hardness and God [may by] that way [come] to work [in her], and [telling her] that she was God's clay.<sup>79</sup> And, asking if she sought God in private, she confessed: No, [I have not] for some weeks. And then she set upon it again but continued worse and worse.

But hearing [the] sermon of the woman that had the bloody issue<sup>80</sup> [she] saw it was her condition and worse. And [she saw] that she [i.e., the woman] had a heart to seek after Christ, [but] she had none. And she saw she had no faith at all; and there were many encouragements to such, tho all means made them worse. And the Lord did incline her

heart hereby to seek help in him, and [she found] that some encouragement [came] from that sermon. And so [she] sought the Lord and so had encouragements from other scripture, Hosea, as: he that had brought her to a wilderness would speak comfortably<sup>81</sup> and that the Lord would have mercy on them that had no mercy.<sup>82</sup> By which, I pleaded with God. And [I considered] that of Isaiah: I will gather others beside them that be gathered.<sup>83</sup> And hence [I concluded the] Lord might help me.

But in this furthering the Lord showed her sin more and more. But, hearing what an enmity there was in the will against God, she saw it so clearly from Matthew 23: you would not.<sup>84</sup> There she saw that thing. This did lie sad[ly] upon her, and [she] thought: Did I think I could take Christ on any terms? And yet [she] had a will to resist him. And, being in that sense, [she was] exhasted to go to him - to plead with God to subdue her will - which she did. Yet [she] saw her rebellion, still exceedingly [strong].

Sometime after this [her] first thoughts in a morning [were]: Could I eat, drink, and sleep and [still have] no part in Christ? Yet, sometime after, what she heard came to mind - Lord is mine - [and she thought]: Never fall then I to myself. And the Lord stayed my heart by that.

[For] sometime after she went on in this condition and in as a bad a condition as ever. And some scriptures

brought me in to submit to the Lord, being hard to submit to the condemning will of God, Isaiah 30: The Egyptians help in vain but thy strength is to sit still.<sup>85</sup> I saw I had nothing by quarreling but [did] by being contented. And [she thought] that she was the clay and [the] Lord her potter, and so [the] Lord calmed her heart. And so in [the] same chapter - in returning and rest shall be your rest<sup>86</sup> - [she decided], by leaving her soul with the Lord, [to] let him do what he will, and thus the Lord gave her a contentedness of spirit. And she saw more sin she never saw [before]. Yet [she heard] something that did support her [from] Isaiah 44: Thou hast made me weary with thy sins yet I will blot out thy sins.<sup>87</sup> And hence I pleaded with Lord for his namesake. And so [I heard]: Look unto me and be saved all ends of earth.<sup>88</sup> And she thought she was one of them all. And, seeing her insufficiency to look, she entreated him that commanded her to look [that he] would enable her. And, [hearing] that the Lord would lead the blind in a way they went not in<sup>89</sup> and [that] the stout-hearted ones [were] to hearken to him,<sup>90</sup> she hence wondered at God that he should speak thus to such a one. And after this a question [was] made whether she had closed with [the] person of Christ. Yet she saw if she had not the fault was in her. And then [she heard] that place, fury is not in me let him take hold of my strength,<sup>91</sup> and she saw that strength was Christ. And she [saw] there was but two ways, either to stand out or take hold, and saw the promise and

her own insufficiency so to do. And [hearing] that other scripture, he had laid salvation on Christ,<sup>92</sup> she thought now she [had] closed.

And [someone] hearing [that former question] - How [do you] know whether [you are] united to Christ? - [after] mentioning a scripture, [thought of another question and she] was asked whether she had assurance. She said: No, but [she had] some hope. Yet hearing other scriptures - in thee the fatherless find mercy<sup>93</sup> and so many as receive him<sup>94</sup> - [she] hence feared her estate again. Hearing nothing for or against her condition, [she] hence resolved to look out [for] those scriptures where [the] person of Christ was set forth, as [in the] first of John: full of grace and truth.<sup>95</sup> And she saw her own emptiness and Christ's fullness and such a suitableness between Christ and me. And [she heard] chapter seven [of John that] if any thirst let him come to me and drink<sup>96</sup> and, hearing [the] Lord called to any, she thought she was out of those any. And seeing nothing would satisfy her but the Lord and [that there was] nothing in heaven or earth she desired - nothing like him - she thought the Lord called to her to himself.

## 12.

Robert Sanders (d. ca. 1683) lived in Cambridge on the southeast corner of Mount Auburn and Dunster streets and held considerable acreage in

the Cambridge area. He became a freeman on May 23, 1639, and in the fall the town appointed him with two others to survey lands and "to meet every second Monday in every month to enter the several grants and allienations of lands according to order in that case provided." In 1645 he was in partnership with Hezekiah Usher, the first bookseller in the English colonies.

#### Mr. Sanders Confession

It pleased the Lord when I was tender to give me some liking of religion and [to] countenance others that were so being religiously brought up. And so [I] was by my father put to prentice, where I had liberty to hear but had many bad examples. And so [I] thought the Lord made me by want of fairer means to prize what I lost. And, the Lord exercising me with weaknesses, I saw the Lord's end was to wean me from the world, and so I resolved to walk in a Christian course. But [I] did it in my own strength. And so I was, by Satan, put out of my bias, and [I] found [the] Lord forsaking of me, thinking while I walked with God he would with me. And after[ward I] found many sins, and I prayed to the Lord to subdue them. And he set my soul at liberty. And after this I grew careless and watchless, and then came sickness as, I thought, to death. Then I thought what was in me and



examined my heart of what evidence I had. Thus I was when I was young.

But particularly the Lord convicted me of the profanation of the Lord's day and also [of] love to the world, hearing that place opened love not the world.<sup>97</sup> And so I saw my evil heart and [the] evil of sin. And so [I saw] a need of Christ to take them both [in order] to take away the filth and guilt of sin and to make me more holy. And much ado I had to live by faith but [was encouraged], hearing those scriptures: look to me all ends of the earth, whoever will let him drink of the water of life freely,<sup>98</sup> so come to me you that are weary and heavy laden and I will give you rest,<sup>99</sup> and so blessed are the poor in spirit,<sup>100</sup> where I saw my emptiness and fullness in Christ to depend on him. And so by this we know we are translated, etc.<sup>101</sup> And I thought I loved them only for the image of God in them. And the Lord hath let me find in the course of my life some power of mortification and sanctification.

Since I came here I have seen more of the corruption and deceits of my own heart. And [the Lord] hath given [me] some strength against it and [helped me] to rely on Christ to continue it and to help me to walk with him. And [I] have seen all [the] fullness in Christ [needed] to supply [my] spiritual needs and necessities.

## 13.

John Stedman (1601-1693) is one of those men who rose from "rags to riches," a typical success story. He came in 1638 as a steward in the employment of the widow Glover - her husband, the Reverend Mr. Jose Glover, in his will called him "my ancient, faithful servant" and left him "the sum of fifty pounds." On May 13, 1640, he became a freeman and, thereafter, repeatedly served the town in various capacities. He frequently surveyed highways, supervised the distribution of land, collected fines, arbitrated local disputes, superintended bridge construction, and helped with the catechism of children. The town elected him constable twice, selectman sixteen times between 1640 and 1676, and the treasurer of the county continuously from 1658 to 1683. He also served in the militia; the General Court recorded in 1648 that "John Stedman, having been ensign of the company at Cambridge about six years, is freed from serving as a common soldier there." Later he was in Captain Davis' troop, as cornet, in the 1654 expedition against Ninigret; and he may be the John who sat in 1677, as quartermaster, on the Committee of the Militia for Cambridge. He married Alice,<sup>102</sup> and they resided on the northeast corner of Mount Auburn Street and Brattle Square,

which was also a store that they operated most of their lives. John also gained a monopoly on the trade in furs for Cambridge in 1658 and owned a considerable amount of land in the area.

#### John Stedman his Confession

It pleased God about fifteen years since to move my heart to hearken to God. And the first thing that convinced my conscience was a funeral sermon of my uncle's, which showed me out of 2 Thessalonians 1 flaming fire.<sup>103</sup> Showing the woeful estate of men, it brought me to [the] consideration of my former courses and [to] sadness of spirit for [my] former courses. Another time, hearing that place 1 Thessalonians 5 be not drunk with wine,<sup>104</sup> where he showed the greatness of the sin of drunkenness - being found guilty of that fearful sin - I was much affected with the sermon. And when I was done it appeared to my countenance to my vain and idle companion, who asking [i.e., asked] me what ailed me. I said there was cause enough [just] to see them [that] walk so idly after such means. And so I labored to pray and hence got a book, but I [also] entreated [the] Lord to help me to pray. And so [I] cast off gross sins and was affected with hardness of heart. Hearing 1 Peter 5 God resists the proud,<sup>105</sup> here I saw a great worth in humility and saw more of [the] vileness of my hard, unsubdued heart. And so, seeking the Lord, I went

to others to help me about a hard heart; and they told me if I was obedient to the Lord it was enough. And that I found. And so I was admitted to [the] private societies of saints, where I found much sweetness.

And so I sought for pardon of sin. And, hearing Galatians 2:19 from Mr. Langly,<sup>106</sup> where Christ was sin was subdued, so I saw the Lord had pardoned [me] by those signs. After this I came to have many fears and doubts about my estate and condition. And I heard that God did let, after faith, Satan loose to try men by.<sup>107</sup> And so I followed the Lord, and [I] found communion with God and his people so sweet that I resolved against ill company and hence hated [it].

And after this I saw that sad sin of unbelief and hence entreated [the] Lord to humble me for it and [to] persuade my heart of [the] Lord's love.

After[ward] I was troubled for want of growth, [finding] that [my] strengths are like willows and palm trees. And hence [I] feared I wanted grace. But I felt my heart longing after grace, and [I saw the] want of grace that was poverty, and this supported [me].

After this I questioned my estate and came to New England. And, hearing Mr. C[otton],<sup>108</sup> speaking how far a man might go under a covenant of works,<sup>109</sup> so [I] had great fears that was my condition. And, not sleeping quietly, [I feared] that I had [neither] received Christ nor could find no sense of my need of Christ. And after many weeks I came,

by a providence, to this place and heard 2 Corinthians 5:20, treating about justification and calling. God spoke to me, as if I had told him.

And so [I] found my hardness of heart subdued in some measure. And since [I] have been carried through many fears and doubts.

#### 14.

Jane Holmes (d. 1653) lived in England before coming to Cambridge in the 1630's. She soon married Robert Holmes,<sup>110</sup> and they resided on Brattle Street. In addition to housekeeping and helping Robert farm, she raised eight children - only three of which survived her. She probably joined the Cambridge church in 1640.

#### Goodwife Holmes

It pleased the Lord to take my mother and give [me] a mother-in-law<sup>111</sup> who had many children, which was an affliction to me. And [I] thought it go[o]d to make use of it; hence [I] began to read the word and began to think it good to follow the Lord. And I would do what I could to walk in his way, because they that did should be happy and [the] others damned.

So I thought I could not live holily in [my] father's house and hence thought to live in a minister's house, [which was] better. So [I] went to [the] vicar of [the] town, an opposer of the truth. Yet I thought he [did] not live holily enough [being] an Arminian, one that taught free will and opposing openly [the] Puritans. I thought the word taught us to be pure, and he was not. Yet, I thought my condition [was] happy, praying morning and evening and not doubting. And, tho [the] Puritans spoke against [the Arminians], yet I took their parts and [began] to inquire after that way. And so they told my father.

One [of them] told me of a new birth, and she spoke of her misery and [of] what a life we [had] lived when at school. And, she changing, [she thought] others in the better to hear, but one [did] and not the vicar. And she did write of [the] necessity of [the] new birth and that all righteousness out of Christ was nothing. And so I thought I would inquire after that way.

But [the] Lord followed me with sad afflictions, and God denied me [the] comforts I sought for after[ward]. And I resolved to go to hear a sermon, and my heart was so endeared to that man [that I wanted] to live with him. And so [I] desired my father to live there. And [I] resolved to come away whatever came of me. But [the] other minister said ministers were turned into an angel of light, and so I thought of them.

And so I came away to my father's [house], who

entertained me. Yet [I was] content to go to service, to any [service], where I might live under that ministry. And I wondered at God to carry me to such a house where ministers met. And there - I that found no rebellion - now I found my heart rebell[ing] against the Lord and every word [that was spoken]. And so [I was] wounded out of [the doctrine of] hell, which melted my heart, and thought tho to hell yet [it was a] mercy to acquaint [me] with [my] misery. Yet my heart [was] cross to [the] command, as I rebelled. And I sought the Lord and could not rest and thought it [was] impossible [for him] to have mercy for me that [had] so rebelled against light. And hence Satan [was] set against me, [telling me] that I durst not go to prayer. And I found I was not humbled, yet [I] feared night and day [that I would go] to hell because [I was] not humbled. Yet [I] sought the Lord not to cast me down with false fears nor lift up with vain hopes.

And, hearing in [the] ministry [of the word about] those that were in love with [the] brethren, [I decided to try it]. And, trying it, [I heard] if he loved a poor saint as well as a rich saint [that] love [would] support [him]. And, tho [I had] some support, yet, hearing of some [that were] much humbled, then I feared. And when I heard a threatening I could embrace that and [the] promise [I] durst not. And so [I] thought I saw the damned in hell and, being very sad, God brought in a servant of his that held forth a promise. But [I] could not lay hold on it.

And - coming to [the] house of God again and hearing: thou [art] thinking there is no grace because [you have] no love to the brethren, etc., but thou art like one in a consumption [who] if [he] neglect[s] means at first [thinks he is] past [the] remedy [but he] that return[s] believes - so I resolved to follow the Lord for the same grace again. And [I] did find love to [the] saints, and [I] had [a] little support. Yet hearing a sermon [that] the feeling follows [the] faith of [the] saints I labored to feel it.

And [the] Lord making [a] way for New England I thought I should find [those] feelings [there]. And, coming to London [and] hearing that Paul who before [was] for himself now [said] what will [you, Lord,] have me to do, I thought I could do so and leave all.

Now, coming to the Sea Cist by providence, [I came] in[to] that ship where that wretch was. And he [was] expounding in [the] ship, and - hearing he did not teach [the] true doctrine - hence I resolved not to hear him and wished others not to hear. But he said he held nothing but what Mr. Cotton<sup>112</sup> held.

Yet, he began to insinuate himself into my company. And [he] said of all [the] others he could not get [into] our companies, and hence I thought: Why should I judge? And then I heard him, but woefully he lectured [about] God before [them]. And I was taken with joy with his delusions, [and] that [joy came because] I knew not how to renounce it



[i.e., the delusion]. Yet [I worried], looking on [my] former evidences and considering if I was driven from sanctification I knew not what to do. Yet he told me [the] Lord would come with a first. Yet reading [the] Psalms, which comforted me, I thought I would not deny those truths. Yet when I came to hear him I thought that he said [was] true [but] in private e contra. And, when I thought of other Christians that this was their way, he told me they were no better than Paul before his conversion. But I thought them more holy than he.

He said he was as sore against them as I, but he was forced to it so [two blurred words]. For he said he was suffered to fall into a foul sin, and he was tempted to lie with another [man's] wife and fled to another place to [be] free. But at last [he] got his desire, and she thought she was damned. But [the Lord] brought that place in me, if fruit found, and so [I was] quiet[ed]. So, [examining] himself, [he saw he] was [the] Lord's and no sin could separate [them].

And he heard another confession that she never came to be driven from her own righteousness but by a gross act; so God, [she said], would do so to me.

I asked if he was ever taken from her. But he said no but could enjoy her three or four times a day.

And I laid open diverse places [where] leud women led with lusts, but he said it was his bitterness. But I said, [if so], he would leave it. Yet he said he knew what

he had believed and how it was betwixt God and him and [to] take heed how [s]he judged him.

So I thought: Shall I leave this way for him? So I would seek. Yet he, by insinuation, got within me, and I would not leave him, which I speak [of] it [in order] to know of that which left me. I had been the vilest wretch.

So - some friends coming to me when I came hither - I desired to be at Boston. And I desired to know [the] right way, and I told them I did find my heart drawing after that way. Yet they entreated me to refrain [from] his company. And so, being at Roxbury, [I heard] Mr. Wells.<sup>113</sup> Being on that text return you backsliding children,<sup>114</sup> no sooner [than] text [was] named but I thought I was a backsliding wretch. And so, my condition being discovered, I went and told him my condition and [asked whether] to cleave [to] spirit, water [or] blood [and asked] whether spirit was first. He said that water was before blood,<sup>115</sup> and so I acquainted him with my ship entanglements. Yet by him I was encouraged to go to the Lord, and [I] confided [in him] once, [telling him] how precious God and his ordinances once were to me. Yet [I was] troubled, so I followed God in [the] days of humiliation. Yet [for a] long [time] I could not get my heart in any good frame, but my heart at last was struck with admiration at God's mercy to deliver me from such a wretch and errors. And when I saw others afflicted with [the] pox I thought I wished I were so if not left to errors. And so

my heart was saddened [when I went] to the Lord, and [I] thought it [would be a] mercy if I might find [the] least glimpse of [his] favor at last.

And, seeking the Lord, [I asked him to help me] to submit in anything to his will, [and] that if [he] never show[ed] mercy, yet, I might submit [to him] and not blaspheme. And thus, following the Lord, the Lord in his ordinances gave me some support. Yet I [lost it], fearing I was a hypocrite and that appeared the more because I was ready to take comfort. So, going to hear Mr. Wells, [I heard]: Thou art [the] Lord our God. And [he] showed a false reliance and [a] true [one and] that nothing could content [the] sould that truly relied but the Lord, and that I found. And they had tokens, as Tamar['s] ring,<sup>116</sup> and [I thought] will not [the] Lord own these tokens and are these nothing; so I [found comfort].

And, finding [the] Lord, [I saw] a rebellious heart [in me]. By many trials I found [the] Lord in me, and I found [the] Lord. I loved him. And I found that my grief was that sin parted between me and God. And on [a] Sabbath day morning [I heard] 1 Mark: I will; be thou clean [and] Lord if will.<sup>117</sup> And in prayer I found [the] Lord persuaded my heart of his love and was endeared to [the] Lord. And [I] thought if it might even be thus. Yet since [I have had] fears, seeing [the] greatness of the sin, [but] I am freed from [it].

## 15.

Edward Collins (ca. 1603-1689) lived in several English towns - among them Wethersfield, London and Dedham - before coming to Cambridge with his wife, Martha,<sup>118</sup> and four children in the 1630's. He became a freeman on May 13, 1640, and the following year the town elected him to be one of their constables. While serving as constable, the General Court appointed him the "Clerk of the Writs" for Cambridge, authorizing him to "grant summons and attachments in all civil actions." He subsequently served as a representative or deputy to the General Court from 1654 to 1670. A deacon in the Cambridge church before Thomas Shepard's death in 1649, and still holding that position in 1658, Collins was eminently qualified to accept his appointment, in 1670, to catechise a portion of the Cambridge children. He and his family lived on Holyoke Street and owned a substantial amount of land; the townsmen in 1649 granted Collins "in lieu of his small farm within the town bounds, with some addition in respect of his place in the deacon's office" 500 acres of land in the Shawshine region of Cambridge.

## Mr. Collins his Confession

The Lord gave me that privilege to be brought up of godly parents. Hence I received some restraint from them, who seeing an evil nature in me were more careful to restrain me. Next to this, he gave me a ministry where I was capable of God, where my father lived and died; and somewhat God did by his catechizing, dropped somewhat into me about fundamentals.

But God taking away my father I was cast into a gentleman's house, a profane house, where I contracted much guilt to my soul as undoing what I had had before. Yet such was God's care to remove me from thence more speedily than was expected. And, my mother going to Wethersfield, they there - hearing of the ill family where I was - I was removed from thence [and placed] under old Mr. Rogers<sup>119</sup> of Wethersfield, where I stayed a year and got some good.

After this, thus, friends put me [to] prentice to a godly family, whereby their care I met with restraint from youthful vanities. And during that time I held forth a profession of religion for sinister ends, and I did increase in some external gifts. And God gave me my end's repute in the family, whereby I had some advantages.

When I was a liberty at my own disposing I began to think of my coming aims and ends, and I saw I had done all out of base ends and so had no peace upon good grounds.

Hence I looked after further means and helps and so attended on the means in the city. And some more knowledge and gifts I got, which added to [my] former peace, but I rested not here. But [I] searched after more searching means.

And so, hearing by letters that there was a better [one?] in Colne, hence I visited my friends. And so hearing [the] doctrine of man's misery the Lord discovered myself more than before, which I desired to see and hear. And he [preached] from 12 Luke: from this mite,<sup>120</sup> which God set on upon my soul and to strike a terror and amazement on myself on my outward estate. And by a private meeting of [a] private conference I heard diverse questions propounded and answered. And, [hearing a] question being made [about] when a man rested in duties, I was convinced I was the man. And the grace I saw in Christians did ashame me before the Lord, [especially] that Christians so young should manifest so much [and] I having had means so long.

Hence I endeavored to get into private Christian meetings at London. And after[wards], by other notes, I saw I was never all off the old stock. So I prayed to see the evil [of] sin and saw it. And [I] entreated the Lord to [help me] discover the remedy, Christ, and I saw no way but to take Christ upon his own terms; for I saw I had taken Christ but not upon his own terms but had love to some secret lust. And here I found a difficult work, [i.e.], how to take him and to live to him. And I thought if

Christ was to be had upon no other terms but to part with every lust then, I thought, I should never have him it was so hard.

And so [I] came to my own place where, tho an orthodox minister [preached], [God's work was not continued]. Yet, by going to Dedham and [hearing] Mr. Greenhill<sup>121</sup> and others, there God carried on his work by himself and wrought peace. And there I took notice of [the] covenant that it was free and saw promises made to such dispositions [as] to [the] lost, to weak, hungry, thirsty, and to such as were [the] confessors and forsakers of sin. And hence I thought Jesus Christ was mine, and so [it] stayed my heart. And in searching my heart, seeing sin die and growth in grace, I thought God would carry on his own work.

And at this time I saw how God would be worshipped. I could not find God's presence in [the] ordinances, being full of mixtures. Hence I sought [the] Lord to bring me to enjoy these liberties, because I had some little light as not to join in those ordinances. And so [I sought] the Lord in his time, tho not in mine, to make way for. And since the Lord hath brought me hither several providences [have occurred].

At the first, coming [and] seeing the great change from this and that place, [it] did much transport my heart. Yet, after this, this frame was quickly lost by distractions, thoughts, and cares which dead[en]ed my spirits,

which God seasonably took care to cure by a heavy hand of God. And then I saw and was convinced of unthankfulness and discontent, and so by a servant of his I was brought upon my knees. And I blessed God that he would not let me lie still but [decided] to show me my unthankfulness. And so at last I came to see [the] need of all God's ordinances [and] watchfulness that I might answer the end for which he sent me. And I saw his hand to bring me to the same ministry that first [the] Lord did me good by and to beget me to himself.

## 16.

John Stansby (n.d.) left England, judging its religious "ordinances polluted," in the spring of 1636. R. Stansby, a minister in the parish of Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, called John his "nerest kinsman" and described him as "outwardly" a religious man; "tyme (especially in New England)," R. Stansby thought, would reveal more about John's spiritual estate. And it did, as he joined the Cambridge church sometime before 1641. In England, John farmed and - just before coming to New England - worked as a clothier. He probably pursued both occupations at Cambridge.



## John Stansby his Confession

It is a mercy I have long begged and waited for, and [evermore?] I bless God for this.

I know I came in the world a child of hell, and if ever any[one was] a child of [the] devil I [was]. I had a father that brought me up to eleven years [of age]. He [being] gone, as I grew in years, I sought a match for my best. And herein I have been like the devil not only [going] to hell myself but enticing and haling others to sin, rejoicing when I could make others drink and sin. And for ought I know others [are] in hell for them. And the Lord might have given me my portion, but when I lay in my blood [his] love came to me in Cambridge, hearing that no adulterers [or] drinkers should enter into the kingdom of God.<sup>122</sup> And so I knew my condition naught, yet my heart was so naught that I would have my haunts. Yet I have been greatly affected in ordinances. And I have had many resolutions then in my base rotten heart. And [the] Spirit many a time would have come into my heart, proffering blood and mercy, yet I would have my lusts and haunts, [and] that I would have them dearer than God, Christ, mercy, and heaven. And just it had [would have] been with God to give me up.

But the Lord let me not alone. But [I] followed [the] Lord in use of means, and there I saw my hellish, devilish nature, opposite to God and goodness [and] between

light and darkness. And I saw how I lay at the brink of hell. And had not the Lord supported me I had sunk. And here I found [the] mercy of the Lord breaking my heart, and here I saw how the evil of sin how it separated me and God, greatest God, and that nothing provoked the Lord nor grieved him more than sin. And I saw, as soon as even I committed sin, I was condemned and that if pardoned it must cost the heart blood of Christ; and that I did as much as in me lie to drag Christ to the cross.

And hereby, by seeing my vileness, I was drawn to hunger and thirst after Christ, and [it] made me feel my need of Christ. And hearing those promises, [as] come to me ye that be weary,<sup>123</sup> tho I knew not whether Christ died for me, yet I saw myself laden and hence begged of the Lord that I might run after him. And in this promise I found the Lord let in a sight of his beauty, glory, and excellency. And hereupon I went with boldness to [the] throne of grace<sup>124</sup> and was an earnest seeker for pardon and power from Christ. And I found Christ's death destroying sin and, tho [I went] to hell, yet I feared to sin because [afraid] to grieve the Lord. And hence I have an evidence my nature is changed because when sin ariseth I go to the fountain opened,<sup>125</sup> and hence, tho sin be in me, yet I find the growing nature of it cut off.

And in old England, seeing [the] ordinances polluted, my soul desired to be there where Christ is

feeding of his flock in this place. But [I] saw many stumbling blocks; yet [I saw] [pardon?] in thee.

Yet since I came hither my heart hath strove true for God. I have been under vines and fig trees,<sup>126</sup> but [the] Lord hath been as a stranger to my soul, and I have forsaken [the] Lord. And of all [the] sins in [the] world I thought my heart would never run after the world. Yet, sin growing in season, I found my heart set upon the pinnacle and showing me [the] glory of this and that<sup>127</sup> and not seeing that I could have them in death's place. But I could not tell how to go away from hence. God shot arrows in my heart<sup>128</sup> for, tho I found the word greatly working upon my heart [on the] Lord's day and [some] week day[s], yet [on] other days my heart was carried after the creature. [Question.] I answer: I am alone but temptation said you may.

I could not go from hence for then I must go with God's arrows in my heart.

And temptation said if [I] stayed from [my] friends then [I would be] provided for. But here [I thought]: You must sit down.

And hence I found temptation by degrees [did] eat, sup, and savor [all] of [the] goodness out of my heart. The ordinances came to be hell to me; and hence I found in hearing [the] word [that] I thought two hours too long and wished myself out [and] in a meeting house. Hence my heart hath been shut up that I could not pray at all.

But, finding a heart for God and [the] devil, I found [the] Lord go[n]e and could not tell [the] cause till [I] heard out of Matthew 25: full of self. And hence the Lord let me see I sought myself, and so I have seen [the] hellish frame of my heart [from] which [the] Lord hath been gone. Then I found no life but [was] dead and sluggish. And [I] found [the] Lord as a wayfaring man and [my] chariot's wheels [were] off and hence faintings, droppings, and unbelief. And [I] thought I did well to cast away faith, but if [the] Lord let in some beams of himself how ready my heart was to rest upon [those] heart breakings and to be puffed up with them, tho I have nothing to be proud [of and] many devilish ends. I think I have been as devilish a dypocrite as ever lived.

Yet [the] Lord hath brought me to judge myself, loath myself, and to wonder at the boundless mercy of [the] Lord at his feet.

And [I heard] Revelation 3: because poor<sup>129</sup> [which] hath much supported [me].

And, when I could not go to Christ, yet [I came] to gape for him and hence have gone to Christ for evidence.

# 17.

Barbara Cutter (ca. 1622-ca. 1707) left England with her mother, Elizabeth,<sup>130</sup> and her two brothers, William and Richard,<sup>131</sup> for Cambridge

in the 1630's. Not long after their establishment in the town, she became a member of Shepard's congregation, probably in 1640. And about three years later, in 1643, she married Elijah Corlett, whom the inimitable Cotton Mather celebrated as "that memorable old schoolmaster in Cambridge, from whose education our college and country has received so many of its worthy men." They lived on Dunster Street where Barbara raised three children, all baptized at the Cambridge church, and cared for her husband and mother - the latter living with them some twenty years.

#### Barbary Cutter's Confession

The Lord let me see my condition by nature out of 16 of Ezekiel and by seeing the holiness of the saving of others about her, [especially] friends. And the more she looked on them the more she thought ill of herself.

She embraced the motion to New England. Tho she went through many miseries and stumbling blocks, [she] at last removed and [had] sad passages by sea.

And after I came hither I saw my condition [was] more miserable than ever, [and I] knew not what to do. And [I] spoke to none, as knowing none like me. Yet - hearing 2 Corinthians 5:19 [that the] Lord was in Christ and there

hearing what [a] need there was of coming to Christ and what need it stood of Christ and that need of him to take away inequity of holy offerings and to wash robes<sup>132</sup> - thereby I saw my vileness. Hence, being desirous to seek [the] Lord, [I] saw [my] vileness [and] hence [was] discouraged. But [I] heard again that [the] soul was not farther off when stripped of excellencies, and that when [the] soul comes for reconciliation [it] must see nothing but: 1. condemned for best desires 2. to look on Christ on [the] pole 3. [the] soul should not find a reason why [the] Lord should pity it, for if so God would unbotton, but hence to stay on [the] good pleasure of [his] will, which God made precious to me if he would pity me and honor himself in me.

And, hearing [the] preachings of [the] Lord's will and seeing my own will, these [were] dear. And, hearing the excellency of [the] person of Christ in five particulars, [the] Lord much affected her heart with it, as [the] first was: it was full of beauty and glory [and] 1 John full of grace<sup>133</sup> 2. that grace was poured out on his lips, Psalms<sup>134</sup> 3. his heart was full of love and pity<sup>135</sup> 4. [his] mind full of wisdom. God broke her heart at these things.

And hearing since [Christ] was paid [for] redemption [illegible word]: [1.] God [the] Father satisfied 2. more particularly, for ought [I] knew for vilest 3. that God and Christ did tender themselves. And - hearing what a

sin it was to sin against [the] gospel [and] against [the] remedy and that it stirred up a twofold anger in God if not accepted - the Lord by that time inclined my heart to some secret stripe and [to] question in secret whether I would go on and anger [the] Lord or no. And, hearing [the] Lord would supply [my] wants [I] cleaved to him.

Then [I] questioned whether [I had] grace or no. And, hearing [the] manner of every saint's washing [from] John 13<sup>136</sup> and by certain notes, I found that the saints sometime took Satan's part, if [they] found affection and at other times [did] not. And, hearing because it fell not out, it would deny what it had yet discouraged.

Yet, hearing [about the] sin of unbelief, [I decided] to bring [my] heart to a strait either to receive or reject him, so [I] heard: as Balaam then stopped in a strait.<sup>137</sup> So [I had] some sweetness. But I lost that which I found in [the] Lord [and] sweetness lost. And on a sacrament day [from] John 21 [I had] some affection, [seeing the] Lord bare to [i.e., show he was] Christ to all.<sup>138</sup> And hearing [the] elder brother, and what respect he bare his [Christ], I sought nothing yet [but] to end giving two notes:

1. When a soul had seen [the] Lord, [it] falls and went running to [the] Lord.
2. It looked on promises, begging and saying as many be it to the[e] as will; hence [I] had some hopes again.

And, hearing John 13: now I tell [you] before [it] come[s],<sup>139</sup> and, hearing where Satan did most assault Christ, [I] preferred it. And being then under some temptation[s], [about] which I knew not what to do, and speaking not of them [I] but sunk. But when I heard [the] doctrine it gave me some hopes, being laid down in some particulars as: 1. in removing stumbling blocks [2.] conver[sion] heard in [the] day of battle.

And, hearing when [the] slave's ears could not go to vain,<sup>140</sup> it opened [me] to receive it. And [I saw] that there was faith when [I] saw nothing but vileness, and [I] could say nothing but Lord I am vile. And, cleaving [to] God's justice and hearing there was faith, I had some support under some trials then of my spirit. And then [I heard more], hearing [from] Matthew 25 [that] Christ would come as a glorious bridegroom to [the] church.<sup>141</sup> And hearing, [I] thought at these:

1. because not their will 2. because tarries so long
3. because not love. There was my objection answered. Question. [Answer.] And there [I] know [the] Lord means me. Yet tho their name [is] not in the promise, yet [it is] in [the] meaning of it, and [I am] more sure than if [I was] named there, because [the] Lord by his Spirit would boot<sup>142</sup> [it] to [my] soul.

And, hearing four cautions in laying hold, [they were]:

1. not to go to [the] Lord in [my] own strength



2. look not at own [my] wants but look at [the] Lord,  
[who] gave himself to cleanse [and] not because they  
are clean. [The] Lord then stayed her heart.

Yet [I] lost that, and [by] Mr. Eaton<sup>143</sup> - showing  
what [came] after that unbelief that mercy and justice was  
questioned - hence, I had it set sadly on my soul and so had  
some resolution to speak of what [the] Lord had done. And,  
seeing at Roxbury that many went on and smother[ed] their  
doubts, hence [the] Lord broke [my] [e]state more. And so I  
discovered my estate to some, and so they spoke to me, as  
that it was a mercy [the] Lord let me see my unbelief and  
which exile [scribbled word] I was recovered. [The] first  
Sabbath [I heard from] Mark, [the] ultimate, tell my  
disciples and Peter.<sup>144</sup> Why [tell] Peter? Because Peter's  
faith was more weak then [the] others, hence, [the] Lord  
meant him. Hearing hence [the] Lord pittied them, [I] so  
was stayed. And so [I] was wished to beware that sin. And  
so, hearing [there was] strength against [sin], [if I were]  
to cast away faith [it] was [from the] want of feelings.  
And - [seeing] providences crossing promises and seeing  
[the] remedies of corruption and so spiritual agonies and  
false fears - I saw and was convinced of my sin, especially  
the last out of 35 Isaiah: say to them that be fearful, be  
strong your God comes.<sup>145</sup> God set in it and overpowered my  
heart at that time. And hearing [the] soul should come to  
[the] Lord in the promise and stay and wait and lie under  
[the] Lord [to see] if he would show mercy, it not, [let

him] do what he would. And since [the] Lord hath let me see more of himself, as in doubtings, [and] that [the] Lord did leave saints [to] doubting as to remove lightness and frothiness. Hence, doubtings [came] to [be] cause for fresh evidence.

And by this means [I] kept them from falling. [The] Lord made these suitable to [the] Lord and to drew my heart nearer to himself.

And so [I] answered all doubts from [the] Christ I saw with me and [on] this day or forevermore.

# 18.

William Manning (ca. 1592-ca. 1666) left England with his wife and child, William, and came to New England in the early 1630's. They lived at Roxbury for several weeks before deciding to settle at Cambridge. William joined Shepard's congregation sometime before he became a freeman on May 13, 1640. He subsequently lost his wife and married a second, Susanna, who died in the fall of 1650. And Manning mentions a third wife in his will of 1665. He seems, however, only to have had the one boy, William - who became a prominent merchant, raised a family of five, and, with his wife, Dorothy, entered

into full communion with the Cambridge church  
before 1658.

#### Goodman Manning's Confession

In time past when I was very young, going to prentice about fifteen years of age, I - being unfit for that or any other thing I took in hand [and] living in a place where there was bad examples - was drawn aside, when as I might have got[ten some] good. But, being a prentice with him four years, I did grow very loose and vain and would not be ruled nor governed by my dame. I was left with all [and] now delighting in vain company and vain books. And, hearing this word: neither circumcision nor uncircumcision avails anything but a new creature<sup>146</sup> and [the] laying open [of the] fruits of [the] old and new creature, I concluded my condition was lamentable.

Yet, tho sensible of my condition, [I] was ashamed to make it known.

Yet, looking upon them that lived more restrainedly and civilly than I did, I thought I would leave off my bad company and join myself to such as they were.

Yet, I saw that condition was not as it ought [to be], knowing the tree by the fruit.<sup>147</sup>

Now, being acquainted with them that were godly, I might have had a heart to get good by them. At length, I looked upon them that I was persuaded were upright. I began

to cleave to them, and it was one of the best evidences I had. And [it was] here that I saw I did love those who love Christ.

Yet - I hearing by the word that there might be hypocrisy [in saints] in that for by deeds [none are saved] - I examined myself whether I did love them by loving them that did excel in virtue; as [with] some ministers, the more I saw grace in them the more I did cleave to them. Question. [Answer.] Tho most contemptible, yet I did cleave to them. I went on [in] this a good while, living where there was plenty [of means, especially] in regard of other places. Afterward I took a business, lawful and commendable, in hand, yet, going on in it without any wisdom. I afterward - coming to a minister's house, where meeting with two or three of my friends - [received instruction]. They, hearing what I went about, fell to examine me. And they told me [this]. Being a kind of professor - tho a weak one - they told me I went about that which would scandalize the gospel. So that I had much grief and trouble and so was beaten off from it.

And, coming home [and] being troubled, I could not hide it. Hence, my dame perceived it, and she - being a carnal woman - did rather reprove me for falling off and counseled me to go on. And, hence the more I was persuaded the less I regarded her, yet afterward I felt my heart to me, inclining do. But I [had help], being acquainting them that were godly and they speaking to me against it. So that

I would wish all that desired communion with God to make their wants known to ministers.

So I did hearken to their counsel, thanking them. And the Lord was stopped in it.

So, coming to an honest man in prayer, [who was] speaking of the fall of man and the misery man was fallen into, before he made an end of [his] prayer I was much stricken and in amazement. And I thought that was my condition - fallen in Adam and other sins [and] vile corruptions that I was privy to.

Hence, I was troubled whether it was right because it was not wrought by the word. And I continued two or four days, so as I had no heart to prayer.

Yet, seeking the Lord, I remember this one [thing]. I did rather desire [of] the Lord to be humbled under it thoroughly than [to] be delivered [from it], for the burden of my sin did lie heavy upon me. Now tho I thought something was wrought by the word, yet [I was] never so sensible as by this means.

But the Lord brought me out of this condition. I had some comfort by thinking how the Lord wrought upon some in scripture, as manifest. And upon this I had some peace and comfort that whereas I had before a heart to do good now methought if [the] Lord should call me out to do or suffer I could. And this passed away, and then I had a double temptation: 1. whether there was a God or [2. whether] the scripture [was] true or no. And, being gross, I was

loath and ashamed to make my condition known. Yet the minister [helped me], showing out of Psalms 14:1 that there was a God [both] by scripture and by reason, but fain would I put off these temptations.

Now, I found hardness, unbelief [and] deadness to lie very heavy upon my soul. And another minister, handling the affections of the soul, he met with my corruptions. I was burdened with them in a confused manner and did strive against them with my own strength and not the Lord's or else, I believe, I might have had help before. Now he showed how one should get strength against corruption [and] seek against [it]. And [one must do it] at once for a six fold cord would not break, but if untwisted they might break them separately. And hence, seeking the Lord for time to come, I did find the Lord [did] help me against those sins, being once overcome of them upon several occasions. Yet the Lord did help me over some of them.

Yet two things did burden me much: 1. corruptions breaking out 2. wants and weaknesses. Three things kept me down:

1. My heart was exceedingly clogged with [the] worldly [and] with business, and that, when I went to my business, the world came in there thick and threefold.
2. I had such ado to get up my heart to the Lord, being in a wood in the midst of a wood.

And hearing a minister to three heads, works being

all vain and thoughts wicked, I saw these kept me under and loaded my spirit.

And no sooner out of [the] ordinance but all go[o]d was gone.

3. That when I had got up my heart it was gone of a sudden and much ado I had to get my heart in any frame and temper.

And - hearing a minister press to buy the truth and not to sell it and hearing all corruptions and sins must be cast and sold away - some motives to the sale settled upon my spirit, as: [1.] the excellency of the truth of the word 2. to consider the necessity to buy this truth [as] a matter of life and death 3. the profit and gain which would come by it [and] no profit to be compared to it 4. the great danger in not looking after it.

Hearing another sermon of [the] seven marks of repentance, I found one great cause why I could not find such signs. I thought it was for want of care in regard of self, family, and all [the] others with whom he did converse.

The sin of unbelief still sticks with me. I thought of some promises and, being in doubt whether I should lay hold on a promise or no, I thought hence there was some faith. But yet [I] fainted. Yet I thought if the Lord would assist me I would go on in the work of the Lord, and I knew no work more necessary than it, because whatever is not of faith is sin.<sup>148</sup> And so I was set to seek [the] Lord in [the] use of means; [I wanted him] not only to work

faith [in me] to rely upon him for mercy but to live by that faith. Hearing Mr. Culverwell,<sup>149</sup> [I heard him] showing two things in faith: 1. that it is not enough for the soul to lay hold upon Christ [2.] but faith too must lay hold upon the soul, faith purifying the soul. And hence I had many occasions to examine my soul. Yet I found that my heart was exceeding[ly] corrupted. And some sins remained and came fresh in[to] my mind which did burden[ed] me, as pride and vain glory which - poor creature - I had as little cause to be troubled with them as with any in the world.

Now, continuing thus, helps I had to come out of this condition. Yet having as last thoughts of this place in New England - my wife and I hearing some certainty of things here - I desired to come hither. Tho I was weak, yet the Lord in [his] mercy made a way ready for me.

When Lord brought me to sea, I was overcome with a discontented mind, meeting there with hard and sad trials, [such] as [the] fear of [the] loss of my wife. Then I thought I had not done well in doing this [that] I had done, tho they were but carnal thoughts, and would, if possible, [have] returned again. Yet the Lord in some measure let me see it was a sin so to wish or think. And [I] thought the Lord would at last bring me hither.

Hence in [the] ship, meeting with new occasions and new troubles, I had these thoughts. Tho the troubles I had were great, yet I thought some of the saints had [troubles]



far greater. Looking back upon the condition of my friends, I thought if I was the Lord's these troubles would come in, which is that promise all things shall work to good.<sup>150</sup> And, thinking [on] that [scripture], calling upon me in day of trouble and thou shalt glorify me,<sup>151</sup> now this discontent I found was more burdensome than all [of the] crosses and sorrows before.

At last the Lord brought me hither. And I lived at Roxbury nine or ten weeks, there meeting with some straits. At length, Mr. Hooker<sup>152</sup> being here, my wife and I desired to come to this place. Yet [I] still had a discontented mind, [being] not quite got over it. But, hearing Mr. Shepard speaking upon a text to encourage them that newly came to land, [I saw] that it may be had that which I expected not (tho troubled), viz., the life of my wife and child. It began to revive me, and then I considered I had forgotten the mercies of old [and] much more those new mercies.

And [I heard him] showing the great means I had there for the present, which the whole world had not [and] which all [the] saints [had]. Tho in straits and wants, yet it might support their hearts and [give] strength.

Afterward, hearing Mr. Cotton<sup>153</sup> [from] Acts 3, concerning the healing of the cripple [and] the text [said], and [he] praised the Lord,<sup>154</sup> [I saw it] showed [the] goodness of God which had not only healed bodies but souls, which I have had thoughts of since. And I wish all to

think of that one thing for it is wonderful and admirable that such a poor creature should be provided for as I am that was so unthankful. And [I saw this especially when] he [was] showing [that] there were crippled and lame [giving] thanksgivings to little purpose.

And this lies upon my spirit [that I have] the great means in public and private - tho that not in private that others have which my sin hath deprived me of [it], which if [the] Lord now gives I hope I shall never admire the Lord sufficiently for.

### 19.

Katherine was probably the maid of John and Elizabeth Russell, early Cambridge residents. He may have been the same John Russell who, in 1634, released a Robert Fibbins from servitude. Russell was prominent enough; he was a land owner and church member, attaining freemanship on March 3, 1636, and being appointed to various offices by both the Cambridge selectman and the General Court.

### Confession of Katharine, Mrs. Russell's Maid

First I went on in ignorance and had no means of light. So I went to an aunt who did, where I was made by her to seek

the means, praying with us before we went to the word.

And, she speaking of [the] misery [of being] out of Christ, so I saw many sins. And so [I] saw more and knew not whether the Lord would pardon them. Yet I knew the Lord could, but yet I questioned would he. And hence I sought the Lord in public and private, and I looked upon Manasseh<sup>155</sup> and upon the scarlet sins of Isaiah, [which were] made as white as snow.<sup>156</sup> And so [I had help by] looking into the word and finding some particular promises, as: come to me you that be laden.<sup>157</sup> But yet I was under terror. And I followed the word and loved [the] saints dearly; yet, I was doubtful of what would become of me. But to go back I would not. So I sought that ministry which came [the] nearest to my soul and loved it [the] most. And so [I] continued two years, sometime[s] thinking I might have mercy [and] sometime[s] not. And afterward I heard Mr. Rogers<sup>158</sup> speak, [preaching] the just shall live by faith,<sup>159</sup> and so I had [an] abundance of comfort from the word. And I blessed the Lord for that condition. But afterward I questioned whether it was possible the Lord should have mercy upon me. And so I heard a poor creature may question his condition.

And so I doubted whether I was humble or no, hearing [one was only humbled enough] if [he was] so much [humbled] as to drive [the] soul out of the self and [to] Christ. And, knowing I sought nothing but Christ to give me satisfaction, I thought I was humbled enough. Then I

fell into a temptation of blasphemous thoughts [and] of slighting the Lord; hence, [I began] praying that he would put this fear into my heart. But I searched for the word to oppose Satan. And so I remembered that of Zechariah: the Lord rebuke thee.<sup>160</sup> And by this I know thou doth favor me, because thou hast not given my devices.

So [I] lost my life. And then [I] thought to come to this place. And so I sought the Lord in a way of humiliation, [thinking] the name of the Lord is a strong tower,<sup>161</sup> and thought here the Lord might be found. And [I was] doubtful whether I had a call to come, because I was to leave my friends. Hence I remembered that scripture: I will be with thee in the first waters,<sup>162</sup> and I knew I should be armed like Jacob in all straits to have a promise. And [when trouble is] in our way, when [we are] ready to be cast away, [I thought I should] stand still and see salvation of God.<sup>163</sup> Then [I] heard Lord is my portion.<sup>164</sup>

So I came hither and heard Mr. Shepard out of the twenty-fifth of Matthew. Hearing [about] the sin of sloth,<sup>165</sup> I saw that was my sin. And so I thought [about] whether I might hear anymore, but I did not nought it. And I had a day of humiliation, where Mr. Shepard [was] showing [the] sins of [the] saints were sicknesses. And, seeing them to be the greatest grief, I was much comforted by that.

And, then [he] speaking of a man that might have a good will to Christ and Christ to him, yet [I realized I had] never closed with Christ in a promise. Hence I was

troubled, because I never could remember that and so questioned all. And hence [I] sought to find that work in [the] use of all [the] means. And so I saw sin was very strong and could not get victory over it. And [besides] hearing of coming to Christ and Christ will not cast away,<sup>166</sup> which was a great lifting up of my heart to the Lord, I heard, tho Judas forsook all, yet he had not Christ for his last end. And [I saw] that there I took my rest as the rich man, [who] said: soul take thy rest.<sup>167</sup> So I found Christ [came] to me.

## 20.

Alice Stedman (ca. 1610-1690) came to Cambridge sometime in the 1630's and married John<sup>168</sup> before 1640. She, undoubtedly, helped him run the store, located in their home near Brattle Square, besides caring for their three girls born in the 1640's. Alice probably joined the Cambridge church in 1640.

### John Stedman his Wife's Confession

It pleased God, when I was very young, to counsel me by a godly minister, which [showed me my] estate, [especially] if I had died in it, had been woeful.

Many hindrances I had to his ways, but I was

encouraged by the word to go on. And afterward I had many sad fears about my estate; [I wondered] whether it was right, because [I was] not so humbled as others and because I could not keep my heart always to the Lord. And in this condition of fear I went on a pretty [long] while.

But afterward I went to London and to a minister, who wished me to declare my condition, and he found I had rested on my duties and that [I] was not so deeply humbled.

And he labored to convince me not to build my faith on duties but on [the] freeness of God's love in Christ, which I saw I could not [do]. Afterward I was in the country in that condition, finding myself unable to believe and to walk as I should. And so by hearing the word I heard what a sin it was to refuse mercy because it [i.e., I] was not so far humbled. And so he set forth [the] great mercy of God that when the Lord did not do it by a greater he would do it by a lesser measure.

And afterward by 50 Isaiah, [the] ultimate, who is he that walks in darkness and sees no light,<sup>169</sup> I was stayed by this word to stay upon God. So by Habakkuk 2:3, the vision is for an appointed time, so I was stayed and carried in means.

But after[wards], [hearing] by John 3:16, that whoever believes, the Lord was pleased by that word to overcome my heart and to show me the freeness of love [and] not only to them that be in greater but in a lesser measure humbled. And the Lord helped me by this, especially if I

felt myself lost and undone without Christ. And after this the Lord exercised me with many outward and inward troubles. And at last the Lord by Job, if thou doth evil or good what canst [you] add to me, and here I found no rest. And [I was helped] by Romans 7 by considering that which I did I did not allow and it is no more I<sup>170</sup> and [by] 1 John 2:1; if any sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous. And afterward the Lord gave [me] some strength and power over those sins.

And after this I was exercised with many outward afflictions wherein the Lord did support my heart.

And the Lord stirred up my heart to come to this place, and he made way by [an] unexpected hand in a spiritual manner.

When I came to the ship by straits and troubles, I exceedingly lost my heart, which God set on upon my conscience that, though I had not [a] place, yet, I was not so careful as I should and might have been. And many afflictions I met with; yet my heart remained the same. And at last the Lord exercised me with many afflictions, and I found great strangeness from the Lord when I came to the means; I felt not what I looked for which [I] was very sad.

Hence some friends put me on to go to the elder, and - he asking me what grounds I had of closing with Christ - I felt as if I never had anything.

And Mr. Weld<sup>171</sup> taught here; upon this rock.<sup>172</sup> There he showed how people build upon [the] wrong foundation

to close and catch a promise and visit Christ, which I thought was my condition, which was very sad. And [I had] many temptations, especially [they sought] to hinder me from secret prayer. Seeing I never had Christ nor faith, [I thought] whatever is not of faith is sin.<sup>173</sup> And, indeed, I have not had a word sometime to speak. At last, the Lord brought me to a day of humiliation to which I had much backwardness upon the same grounds. And in the dead of the day, desiring my condition might be remembered, and at [the] latter part of the day, speaking [from] 56 Isaiah, [the] sixth [verse], son of a stranger that is a dry tree yet his prayers shall be accepted,<sup>174</sup> the Lord did much encourage me by it [that] I, Lord, should hear and [have] some refreshings by it.

But quickly after[ward] I was out of it and lost again. And when a neighbor came to me - [I] asking [him] what such a one should do that did think they had grace but since they came here could not see it - he said here is much pride with a professor [for] so many years and thought well of its heart to doubt. Yet, saith he, it is a great mercy; he will do it. And by this means I saw my own heart, for that was my stick, for I was ashamed to open my condition to any. And at that time I considered of Abram that the Lord did not need to know what was in his heart but that he [i.e., Abram] might know it;<sup>175</sup> so I had need to know what was in my own heart.

And afterward I went on, depending on means [and



wondering] when he would speak. Yet I saw much emptiness in ordinances. And, tho I saw it was thus and thus with me, yet I could not believe.

And when Mr. Buckeley<sup>176</sup> taught here out of the seventeenth [chapter] of Genesis that [the] great God should enter into a covenant with him [i.e., Abram], I was content the Lord should make what[ever] covenant he would, especially [hearing]; Abram then falling upon his face.<sup>177</sup> Yet I could not believe.

And [I] was along under the means without faith, and I saw the Lord might justly deprive me and ever withdraw himself. Yet Mr. Shepard, speaking what an honor it was to the Lord to believe and [that the Lord] will love them and seek to please them [who do believe], much encouraged my soul to believe. And [I] desired the Lord to help me.

And, hearing Mr. Cotton<sup>178</sup> out of Revelation [about] Christ with a rainbow on his head [from] Revelation 10,<sup>179</sup> I thought there was nothing for me. I thought I was like the poor man at the pool.<sup>180</sup> So I thought, if [the] Lord came not with an almighty power to believe, [I was lost]. And in midst of that sermon - hearing if ever [the] Lord came in the promise [and] that the Lord was Jehovah and never changed - then afresh I had John 3:16. [I knew] that the Lord had begun to humble, subdue, quicken, and sanctify [me]. And so by this power of his word I knew he was Jehovah, [and] that [knowledge] did never change.

And [the] next day, coming to one of [the] elders,

he asked me what stuck upon my spirit. I said I was afraid it was not righteousness, and he encouraged me not to give way to those fears. And hearing John 13:20: he that received him that sent me, the Lord came in much by those words, and so [I] was much confirmed. And many times since the Lord hath spoken to me to help me.

## 21.

John Trumbull (1606-ca. 1686), a mariner and shipmaster, emigrated from Newcastle, Northumberland, sometime before 1637 and settled at Cambridge. He soon married Elizabeth; they lived on South Street and owned several acres of land in the Cambridge vicinity. John became a freeman on May 13, 1640. In 1643, the Trumbulls - John, Elizabeth, and their three children - moved to Charlestown where they had two more children.

### John Trundle his Confession

I lived in sin without contradiction in a town without means not only abusing God but his people. [I] used to take God's name to grieve the spirits of the people of God, tho I knew them not. Regarding nothing but pack, belly and fulfilling my own lusts, [I went on]. In riper times by a schoolmaster I saw swearing [was] a grievous sin but fell

from swearing by God [to swearing] by the creature. Afterward, coming to the sea [and] by some men checking me there, for them I left those sins. And, having by sea lost all time, I thought I would learn to read it again. And reading [the] Poor Man's Path Way<sup>181</sup> they told me [that] the more I read [it] the more I would delight in it. But I read in it only to learn to read. And at last I heard he that read that book over it should be a witness against him, tho [I] thought it [was] a serious book. Then reading [a] book of repentance,<sup>182</sup> learning some sins yet I lived in, so [I] saw my misery. Yet, this broke me that I saw wrath and sin and was yet alive.

After this I was moved to seek after some other means and [did] so [by] resorting to a place where the means were twice. My spirit being oppressed for God's wrath and [my] sin, the Lord preached [to me] by one of his servants: How much are you better than they? And so, showing [the] Lord had more respect to one sinful [person] than unto many others beside and [that] the Lord rejoiced more in one lost creature than in many others,<sup>183</sup> hence I thought yet there might be mercy [for me].

And, the minister handling another text: thy glory is above the heavens,<sup>184</sup> [and] hearing [about the] excellency of God's attributes, I saw the Lord's excellency; and so I saw the evil of sin [and] that it should separate [me] from his glory, as the creature could not desire God again. So I resolved no more to sin, but then many friends set them

against me, [saying] that I would go more as other ministers which study. And others would disgrace me in streets and threaten me. But I thought: Hath not Christ suffered more and long enough by thy sins?

So I was carried on with desires to know Christ, and [the] Lord supported me many ways. And - the Lord opening that of Peter no redemption but by [the] blood of Christ and no price but in Christ's blood<sup>185</sup> - hence [I] saw the price of blood. Hence [I] desired it that it might purge me from sin and sickness.

And, hearing thy name is a precious ointment poured out,<sup>186</sup> hence I found a heart to desire Christ but could not believe. Hearing of election [and that while I was] in [the] world [it] should be found out, hence [I] waited upon God in means. Yet, wanting [the] company of saints and [the] means, I went not much forward. Hearing many reproaches on [the] saints, after this I came to [an] acquaintance with [the] saints and had many temptations to lay down all again. Yet, hearing shall I begin in [the] spirit and end in the flesh, so I went to prayer [and went] after much means for Christ.

And - hearing one [preach] out of Isaiah 11 [that] Christ would bring [together] leopards and lions, men of subtle and bloody dispositions, by this scepter and righteousness<sup>187</sup> - pondering these things, [I asked] how this could be.

It made my spirit to be swallowed up, [wondering]

how Christ could be thus miserable. I thought he that had subdued death and hell could subdue the pride of my heart. And it made me wonder that men should scramble for world and wonder that I should sin. Nay, [I was] ready to leave off [the] works of my calling, yet I remembered six days I might labor<sup>188</sup> and desired the Lord to help me again work. And, being in a stand and being [in] fair weather, I was loath to go to prayer, which others were at. But walking on the deck [I] took a book [entitled] To Live Well and To Dy Well,<sup>189</sup> which affected me. But in the evening, there being a sore storm and our mast lost, [I began] thinking what would become of me if [my] peace [was not] made with God. And, desiring the Lord to clear up my condition, Satan told me: thou hast no interest in Christ, because I had broken the Sabbath, and [he said] that I must die in misery. But then I thought not duties can save [my] soul but only Christ. But how should I know how Christ was mine? Hence I considered what [the] Lord had done but could find nothing but that [scripture]: he that sins hath an advocate, Jesus Christ.<sup>190</sup> But how know you he is an advocate? Then, seeing [that] keeping his commands was an evidence,<sup>191</sup> I remembered, tho I was vile, yet I did love [the] Sabbaths and [the] saints. And so [I] prayed, and the Lord - we looking for death at [the] last - brought us safe[ly to land]. So when we came to London I heard Mr. Sedgwick,<sup>192</sup> showing [the] four signs of repentance:

1. [A saint had] universal respect to all [the] commands, which a hypocrite [only] had respect to some of them.
2. There was a ruby redness in saints. Saints were most in private between God and their souls, and there I saw somewhat which did help me.
3. Durableness in service [was a sign, because] a hypocrite went on till his ends were accomplished.
4. Growth in grace [was a sign], and there I thought I had falsely applied all, because I had more love to [the] saints' zeal against sin than ever. And hence [I] thought rather than [to] hear my condemnation read to go out. And then, staying, the objections were answered; [I was] as Peter, tho [I] had no such affections at [the] last, as when he denied his [savior].<sup>193</sup>

Another time [I heard a sermon], hearing that the last shall be first<sup>194</sup> and how a hypocrite might outstrip a saint and hearing of the different actions.

And hearing a new creature opened first [I saw] there was a concept of itself. And [I saw], hearing out of 12 Proverbs, [the] right way. [Then I saw] how far a hypocrite might go; he never see[s] sin [is the] greatest evil and [the] wrath of God [is] the greatest curse.

And then I could not tell whether I had seen sin or no.

## 22.

William Andrew (before 1600-1652), a mariner, left England and came to New England very early in the 1630's. His first wife, Mary, came over after William had somewhat established himself, probably when he was still at Charlestown. By 1634, they moved to Cambridge, living on the northeast corner of Dunster and Winthrop streets. He became a freeman on March 4, 1634, and the following year was chosen to be a selectman, entrusted with ordering the "business of the whole town for the year." Also in 1635 and later in 1640, the town elected him to be one of its constables. And it was around 1640 that Andrew delivered his confession to the church, although he undoubtedly joined the congregation much earlier, prior to 1634, when Thomas Hooker pastored there. Hooker required no explicit relation of faith for church membership; a candidate qualified, he wrote in 1645, if he neither lived "in the commission of any known sin, nor in the neglect of any known duty" and could give "a reason of his hope in God." For any one of many possible reasons, Andrew decided to remedy this omission and publicly declared - with the many others in the Cambridge church about this time - the path he tread to grace.

Mary died in the winter of 1640; she was the mother of Samuel, born in 1621, Andrew's only child. He married Reanna James, of Watertown, the following summer.

#### Mr. Andrews his Confession

I was brought up of godly parents with whom I remained till seventeen years of age, [being] instructed in the principles of religion. After that [I was] bound [to] prentice in Ipswich in a religious family and had not much knowledge, living out. But I came into godly men's company; so that I grew to some knowledge and thought my estate very good and had some comfort in it, performing duties. Yet by [the] sermons of worthy men, as Mr. Carter,<sup>195</sup> of Bramford, [I thought] if [the] righteous scarcely be saved where shall the ungodly appear. Upon the burial of a very godly man [I heard a sermon], where he showed the difficulty of being saved. And so [he showed] how that good men came to heaven or [that none] could come at no time to him but [certainly not without] reading, praying, hearing or living in his calling. And if such a man hardly [went] to heaven, as if an eel should go through a hole and leave her skin behind her, [I wondered about myself].

Now this did mightly strike me, although before I thought my estate good. And old Mr. Rogers<sup>196</sup> - preaching on 5 Deuteronomy how they promised<sup>197</sup> yet they broke all



[and] so out of 22 of Genesis, [verse] 1, of Abram giving up Isaac his only son, [the] son of a promise<sup>198</sup> - hence showed a man ought to slay his dearest sins, tho as dear as his only son. Now I knew I was guilty of some sins, and hence it did lay hold on my. So Matthew 5, except your righteousness excel [the] righteousness of scribes and pharisees,<sup>199</sup> [made me question] if such, [who were] so strict, [were] not saved what would become of [the] others whose hearts were vile and [their] lives too.

Hence [I was] cast down by this; I was laid up under great torment of conscience and [for] a long time, going to sea. Yet being persuaded that those promises [of] Matthew 5 did belong to me, [as] blessed by them that mourn and thirst,<sup>200</sup> [I had some comfort]. And, indeed, I had often [a] temptation to kill myself, hence [I] durst not carry a knife about me nor go near water. And after some consideration [I] fell from it again. [Hearing scripture], as out of 57 Isaiah - preached by Mr. Phillips<sup>201</sup> - [verse] 15, I dwell with contrite spirit, this stayed my heart and made me to resolve against every known sin.

Yet I lay long under trouble and [was] loath to eat [or] meet [with others] as unworthy of them.

And at sea I got [some] books, searching between a true believer and a temporary way, as Dyke<sup>202</sup> and Roger's Seven Treatises. And I sought to God to give [me] peace and searched after promises that he would take away [my] stony heart. And, lying long thus, [I waited for the Lord to]

bring some promise to light to give me comfort. And at last the Lord sent me, thus, such a measure of comfort that I could not contain [it], which did cast me down more than any other things that the Lord should manifest such mercy to me. And it did much astonish me that the Lord should look upon me at that time.

Afterward I doubted whether these comforts were right, because men might taste of heavenly gifts, and hence [I was] afraid of [the] unpardonable sin. And by another book I saw [the] difference between [the] comforts of hypocrites and others; the one did cast them down, which stayed me.

And after this in Spain I fell very sick and sought the Lord but could find no comfort. And some of my men read Psalms 16, my lines are fallen in a pleasant place,<sup>203</sup> which gave me much joy. And so I desired my men to carry me and cast me into sea if I died, because I thought [the] papists would dig me up or no. And so I bless God for what I have found here.

Temptation [came when] I built a new ship, and my mind much upon it even upon the Sabbath. And I desired [the Lord] to deliver me from this whatever he did with me. But that ship was split and all [were] drowned but a few. [Only] four of my men [and] myself [were left]. [We were] naked upon the main topsail in very cold weather [when] on a morning some on the shore came with a boat. And glad I was that I lost my ship and so left my sin.

After that I heard of New England. I came hither, God making way, and when I saw the people my heart was knit to them much. And [I] thought I should be happy if I should be joined and united to them.

And when I came God made way, both in removing the minister and also in selling off all that I had. And [I] sat down at Charlestown, where I was received. Afterward my wife, [while] in my absence, came hither, which I bless God for.

### 23.

Richard Eccles (ca. 1614-ca. 1697), a weaver, lived in Yorkshire before coming to Cambridge in the 1630's. Shepard called him Jackson's "man," perhaps, because he married - either in England or at Cambridge - Mary, a relative of Richard Jackson, a prominent Cambridge citizen. Eccles subsequently carved out his own niche in Cambridge. He became a freeman on May 18, 1642, and by 1646 owned a home on Brattle Street and considerable property in the surrounding area. In 1649, the town appointed him to keep Watertown's cattle out of the Cambridge common, and in the following year paid him to care for the "milk herd." He was chosen constable in 1660 and 1669. And at the age of 62 the town made

him a surveyor of the highways. By Mary, he had four children, all baptized in the Cambridge church. Two years after Mary died, he married Susanna Carter in 1677.

Our Brother Jackson's man: Richard Eagles

For my education I was brought up in a popery a good many years. Yet afterward I came to hear the word. [The] first text [I heard said] Christ should appear in flaming fire to them that know not God.<sup>204</sup> God affected [my] heart [for] a good space; after[wards], I heard another minister [on] Romans 8:1: no condemnation to them that be in Christ. And in [The] Practise of Piety<sup>205</sup> I read [about the] torments of hell, which affected my heart with my estate by Adam's fall. And by Mr. Perkin's [An] Exposition of [the] Creed<sup>206</sup> I saw my condition [was] bad.

And so, getting some light, I forsook ill company and reformed diverse things. And [I] got light by reading [about] the burning bush.<sup>207</sup> I saw there was some change wrought in my life, which did stay me, and so I rested.

Afterward I saw more of my condition and was troubled, and I saw a necessity of a change, indeed, and that there was a necessity of better means to bring my soul to God.

And hence I sought God for more means. And so [I] went to Yorkshire, where there were good means. And I was

settled under a powerful ministry. And I was in a perplexed condition [because] my friends [were] being taken away, which [my] conscience said was for some sins I committed secretly. And under this ministry I had more and more light to see into my lost estate every day.

And out of Philippians 4:20 - the saints of Caesar's household salute you<sup>208</sup> - the Lord said he hath saints in worst places, which gave me some hopes the Lord might in time bring me to the knowledge of himself.

And [by the minister] preaching out of Hosea 14:1, 2, 3, 4 - where the Lord opened my heart [by] showing me a way [of salvation] by confessing my sins - [the] Lord broke my heart in the consideration of my own vileness. And so I saw a necessity of Christ [from] John 1:16. Seeing the fulness of grace in Christ, I had longing desires after him that he would take away all my sin.

And, hearing of the straitness of the way which leads to life,<sup>209</sup> [I saw]: 1. that [the] soul was humble 2. [that the soul] laid down all at Christ's foot to buy the pearl.<sup>210</sup> Thus, I saw I was willing to part with any sin for Christ. [From] Acts 26:13 I found [my] eyes were opened, when [they were] made sensible of sin, which I felt even of the body of death.<sup>211</sup> And [I heard] his will is your sanctification, which I felt.

Being in an ill family, I looked this way. And by sea I was sick, and at land I did not find that delight in his company and fellowship. But out of John 13, groundless

fears possessing, I saw although my soul did doubt yet my soul was a ship at anchor. So [I continued], loving the means and loathing myself.

24.

Elizabeth Green (1589-1677) and her husband, Bartholomew, emigrated to Cambridge sometime before 1634. They had one boy, Nathaniel, before Bartholomew died sometime prior to 1642. She remained a widow for the rest of her life. But she maintained the Green estate, receiving a land grant in 1662, and eventually leaving it all to Nathaniel for his long care of her. Elizabeth probably joined the Cambridge church around 1640 and was still in full communion in 1658.

Mrs. Greene

I was born of godly parents. My father suffered imprisonment, and he was taken away when I was young. And so [I was] left without [an] education. Yet [I] thought that, being bore of godly parents, [I] was well. Yet I read diverse things, [as] Genesis 17. Here I was stayed a time, and so I went on [for] a long time.

Testimonies carried it.

## 25.

The next, anonymous subject was probably a maid to Richard Jackson,<sup>212</sup> John Jackson, or - although a more remote possibility since he came sometime around 1643 - Edward Jackson, all prominent Cambridge residents and church members. She may have been a widow, as she remarked in her confession that "Christ would be better than [an] earthly husband [because] no fear there of widowhood," but this may have been a paraphrase of a sermon she heard. She probably joined the church around 1640.

## Brother Jackson's Maid

Living near a godly minister, little benefit I got by him. Yet, [the minister] coming to John 3: behold what love [the] Father hath shown us<sup>213</sup> [and] showing the privileges of [the] saints, I was affected as if they belonged to me. But, [hearing the] world knows us not,<sup>214</sup> I thought I was one of world.

And hearing out of 2 Zephaniah [the] Lord will search Jerusalem with candles,<sup>215</sup> [I heard from] that place [about] breaking [the] Sabbath; he spoke against them. So I remembered this sin. And, showing he had given six days to us, and [only] to take one to himself,<sup>216</sup> I saw that sin and so saw my original corruption. And I was ashamed to let

any know the Lord had wrought any change in me. And after this the Lord sent [an] affliction and frightened me with death. And, being in trouble, I knew not what to do, tho I had prayed, read, and frequented ordinances. And so that affliction was continued, and so I prayed to God to add to my days that I might live to make my calling sure.<sup>217</sup> And from Hezekiah's example some part I had that I might live for that end.<sup>218</sup> So I went to means again. And [I heard] the minister, preaching out of 1 Peter 2, who [his own self] bore our sins that we being dead to sin might live unto him.<sup>219</sup> And, here seeing the sufferings of the Lord Jesus - he said if men felt sin they would not go on so merrily under it as others do - so I began to mourn that I had put Christ to suffer for my sins, whereas before I was troubled with [only the] fear of hell. So I went to prayer for pardon. And so [I heard] Matthew 11, come to [me] ye weary,<sup>220</sup> but little [comfort] I got. And [I heard] 1 Isaiah: let us reason together.<sup>221</sup> So the same minister, preaching out of Matthew [that the] kingdom [is] like one that sells pearls,<sup>222</sup> [made me see the] pearl was Christ [and I ought] to sell [my] sins and lusts. And I found the Lord helping me that day to part with sin and to redeem that time I had formerly misspent. [I] stayed, and [by the] setting forth [of the] pearl my heart was affected.

And [I heard] Psalms 110 [that] they [are] willing:  
 1. God's people [are] a willing people<sup>223</sup> 2. [made willing] by the power of the Lord Jesus. [I heard] Hosea 2:



I will betroth thee to me,<sup>224</sup> and [the] setting out [of the] spiritual marriage of a king, [who] might sell to a poor silly maid [only requesting]: do but give thy consent and then care not for other things. And [I thought that] Christ would be better than [an] earthly husband [because] no fear there of widowhood. So I took Christ there upon his own terms and [decided] to take all [of] Christ, so healing many sins. And hearing Jeremiah 18; is there no balm in Gilead,<sup>225</sup> [the minister] showed [the] reason why we lie in our wants. [It is] because there is balm in Gilead, [but] we go not to Christ. So I went on.

I had many cases, [which I took] to many ministers, of conscience. And so at my uncle['s urging to] go to New England [and from] hearing [of] perseverance, [I] so could enjoy no ordinance in public nor private, and [the] Lord inclined my heart this way.

And hearing that [of] Isaiah 64: spirit of prayer that restrained,<sup>226</sup> that [scripture] comforted me. And, on a fast day, hearing [about the] signs of godly sorrow - [the signs] consisting not too much in tears or brokenness within - [I saw] this suited my condition.

Coming to sea, the Lord did withdraw. Myself, being sore visited [and] hearing: this is [the] fruit to take away the sin,<sup>227</sup> hence, [was] content [the] Lord should do anything if [he would] take away [my] sin.

When I came hither, [on the] first Sabbath, [I was]

affected but afterwards left to a dead, blockish frame and knew nothing.

And, hearing: when temptation seeks to destroy faith, Christ seeks to destroy it. And on a day of humiliation [I heard] God had his times of visiting his people; [hence, the] Lord melted my heart in private. And [I heard] John 20, the God that is a God to Christ is a God to Christ['s disciples]: 1. they forsook all and followed him<sup>228</sup> 2. when Christ was to depart nothing broke their heart so much as then.<sup>229</sup>

## 26.

Golden Moore (ca. 1609-ca. 1698) emigrated to Cambridge, probably in the late 1630's. By June 2, 1641, he was a freeman and about the same time acquired considerable property in the Cambridge area. He married, at Cambridge before 1642, Joane<sup>230</sup> the widow of John Champney. She already had three children but, nevertheless, they added three more to their family, all baptized in the Cambridge church. The Moores were still in full communion with the church in 1658 but subsequently moved to Billerica and, later, Medford.

## Golding Moore

In the place where I lived before, I came [with]in [the] hearing [of] the word. Out of [the] second commandment<sup>231</sup> I heard my misery, being without the Lord Jesus, and this wrought in me a heart to follow the Lord in the use of the means I had. And the Lord gave me a heart to bemoan my condition in private for my former condition. And, hearing Psalms 32: taste and see how good [the] Lord is,<sup>232</sup> thereby, I found the Lord drawing and endearing my heart to himself and thought there might be mercy for me. And [hearing] out of Romans 7 sin might become exceeding sinful,<sup>233</sup> where I saw the wrong sin did to God [the] Father, Son, Spirit, and [to] all [the] attributes of God, hence, [I] mourned under sin and feared to commit sin.

And thus the Lord, carrying my heart in [the] use of means, did stay my heart and keep me from that course which I formerly was in. And so, remaining a good while and being taken with [the] occasions of [the] world, my heart grew careless. And so I feared my condition was not good or, if [the] Lord had begun, yet, I should backslide in time. Yet the Lord kept me in [the] following of him, [and I thought] that he would humble me and enlighten me.

Now [the] means being taken away, fearing my condition and feeling my ignorance of Christ, hence I set myself to seek Christ and to get more acquaintance with Christ. And hence [I] used [the] means to come hither. Hence [I]

did think [i.e., expect] to enjoy more of the Lord. And so, coming hither and being in fears of my estate, [I thought] that, if my life was gone, I had no promise to support [me]. And, coming hither, I found my heart in a worse frame than ever, [having] not a heart so much as to desire help from the Lord. And hence [I] called all into question, [wondering] whether [I was] ever enlightened or no. Hence, [I] feared [this] time was past.

But, hearing that he that was truly enlightened sought to be made enlightened, here I saw more of my wretchedness than ever before. Having a nature which was not changed, [I saw] that [the] Lord should let [me] out. And I saw [the] breadth of my evil nature in pride and passion. And hence, striving against them and finding none, [I] hence concluded I should get no strength.

And - hearing that such a soul should follow the Lord [and] that he would clear up his love, grace, and mercy and hearing 2 Corinthians 5:19 - there I saw more fully the enmity of my heart.

And, hearing we might clear up justification by sanctification, [I saw nothing], which [discouraged me] when I could not find [it]. Yet, hearing that if I sought to the Lord that he would clear and work it. [Hearing] Jeremiah 3:22, this stayed [me]. And, hearing out of Jeremiah 31 and Isaiah 57 that [if] a soul [is] mourning under its evils the Lord will restore comforts to it,<sup>234</sup> then the Lord carried me on.

And - the Lord taking away some special means from me - I thought the Lord would withdraw himself from me. Yet, hearing [the] Lord would lead the blind in a way that is good, it stayed me.

Now - looking upon myself as living a long time without enjoying the Lord and hearing that scripture: the sluggard desireth and hath not<sup>235</sup> - I found my heart desirous to enjoy more of the Lord in his ordinances.

And, hearing how a soul might apprehend Christ by a seeming faith, etc., I [began] fearing that [was my] condition. Yet the Lord answered my thoughts that day and [the] next. As overcoming [and] as satisfying, [the] Lord constrainth [the] soul to live to him.<sup>236</sup>

[These are things] which have been testimonies of the Lord's free grace and mercy to my soul.

## 27.

William Hamlet (n.d.), a carpenter, lived in London, among other places, before coming to New England in the late 1630's. He soon purchased land in Watertown, Charlestown, and Cambridge. Although he joined the Cambridge church around 1640, he did not attain, or perhaps seek, freemanship until May 7, 1651. Earlier that year, however, the townsmen placed him in charge of the cow common, and

in 1656 they appointed him to supervise the cutting of trees. William married Sarah, the widow of a Mr. Hubbard, sometime prior to 1656. She already had three children by her former marriage, but that did not deter them from enlarging the family; they had two more by 1658, when Jonathan Mitchel listed them as in full communion with the Cambridge church. They subsequently moved to Billerica and made a final move, in 1679, to Woburn.

#### William Hamlet

The manner of my life when I was young was profane and wicked, being brought up ignorantly. And the Lord brought me under [the] ministry. And there - the Lord out [of] 1 James, [the] ultimate, showing the spots of the world<sup>237</sup> - the Lord convinced me of my actual sins in which I walked and [began] to affect me with my misery. And so [I] left [my] sins and did [my] duties. And then [I] thought I should do well. But [I was troubled] out of 2 James 15, hearing that if I failed in one thing I was guilty of all.<sup>238</sup> And, hearing of Adam's sin that [it] might make me miserable, this troubled me under my misery. And after this the Lord discovered himself in regard of his attributes, [especially] his greatness and sovereignty, and [disclosed] how justly he might require of all creatures

[the] power to fulfill his law. And so I saw God's attributes of justice and holiness. [Hearing] Habakkuk 1:12, I was persuaded the Lord would not pass by [the] least sin without satisfaction. And after this the Lord discovered Christ, [his] satisfaction [of sin], his person, and [his] offices. And hereby [the Lord] did let forth the glory of Christ into my soul and did draw out my affections [and drew them] out in love to Christ.

And I saw that loveliness in Christ [so] that I did desire him for myself. And [I desired] that he might be united to me and so [to] satisfy [God] for me. And so when [i.e., then] I thought if [the] Lord would give me Christ it would be [my] greatest happiness, [willing], if I might, [to] have him upon any terms. At that time my heart was not taken with delight in creatures, and [the] beauty of Christ took of the glory of Christ. And [I] thought I was willing to loose my life so that I might be found in Christ.

And, tho I feared my condition, yet I endeavored to give up myself to Christ. And when I sinned [I prayed] that the Lord would look upon me in Christ Jesus. And the way whereby I came to know I was united to Christ was [by] the fruits of it, as mortification.<sup>239</sup> One thing the Lord supported my heart by was [the] love [I showed] to the brethren. And [by] the ministry, showing the difference between [the] love of hypocrites and saints, so I found it. And [I] thought the finger of God [was] in them, [which] drew my heart to them in those times. Mr. Goodwin<sup>240</sup> showed

one difference between [the] hypocrites and saints was mourning for the sins of others to which we have no relation. And so I found that when I heard God's name blasphemed in old England [I mourned]. And hence, tho I could bear with men when I knew them not, yet when I saw them sin I could not endure them but annoyed them. And after this, hearing of the glorious portion of the saints, I could be not content to close with a little mercy; yet, [I] could be content to close with [an] abundance of grace in Christ.

And I have sought the good of God's people when I could not seek my own.

And, hearing in London [about] the greatness of the sin of unbelief, I labored against it.

And, seeing that evil of ceremonies, I was grieved because I was forced to stand [i.e., stay] behind. And, seeing the sweet people that came hither and seeing [the] sins and sorrows of the Lord end, I desired to come, [especially] considering that when I was [the] farthest from God then my heart was scared from coming but when it was [the] nearest to God then I desired to come. And [I was] content to be a servant. But in everything I saw I was decayed and gone, and so [I] was dejected. Yet, seeing the sweet order and life of the people of God, it did much rejoice me, tho it went ill with me.

And, lying thus in my own sinkings, I thought I would be near to the Lord in prayer, and so [I] thought to recover. But there I found a difference, [a] loss of



expressions and affections, which made me the more vile in my own eyes. But the Lord in the ministry of Mr. Buckeley,<sup>241</sup> [hearing] Ephraim [is] like an untamed heifer,<sup>242</sup> and [by] finding that frame of spirit - [a spirit] of loathing myself - I was cheered.

And looking upon the great loss of God from 2 Corinthians 5:19, hearing [the] Lord was offered to an enemy,<sup>243</sup> I was enlarged hereunto the Lord.

But I found in every Sabbath some objection or other answered, and hence [I] thought the Lord could do for me no more. And hence [I] studied to believe. And by a way I knew not of, viz., by the command of God, the Lord much filled my heart with much love to him, and [I] wondered at the patience and goodness of God and so gave up my soul to the Lord again.

But my old frame returned upon me again. But I thought [the] life of faith was sweet. And, dying in my life, I died in my confidence also and so grew frothy and unsavory. And [I] saw some[thing] in the work and the ordinances of God, [but they] have been unsuitable to me.

And then I thought the Lord would afflict me. And so he did, which was light. And, being the first stroke, I thought it was light, but if I continued in my backslidings [I thought] he would come out with seven worse plagues.<sup>244</sup> And so [I] prayed [to] the Lord that I might be more heavenly in prayer.

But after my recovery I grew to my old haunt, only

remembering my old evil trade of life. And [I thought] that it was better to walk with him and thought the Lord would come seven times more. And the Lord, seeing my pride [and] my hand being shot, it was [made] seven times worse [by him]. And so [I] saw it [was] in mercy to me, but [I] never had such consolations as then, tho brought very low. But I saw the justice of God by such a stroke, and so my heart was quieted [by] my hand. And [the] fever coming into me [I] thought I should die. Yet I regarded not that [practice of] commending my soul to him.<sup>245</sup> And, praying for ease, the Lord did mitigate my pain. And after this the Lord recovered my life and desires in prayer. [I was pleased], not regarding my hand if I might be a gainer in a spiritual way. It is a support to my spirit that the Lord will hear those prayers I then made through Christ, waiting till the Lord will come. And I found, and do find, the Lord helping me to walk more in the sense of my own vileness. And I can bear now what I could not bear with [before]. But my spirit was lifted up before [and] above man and in some things above God. I find myself also helped more in my conversation and watchfulness. And, finding the spirit of God helping me in my spiritual and temporal calling, [he showed me] what to do in this and that duty. And so [I have] more love to God's ordinances, more in word, and more in [my] prayers. And so since my affliction [I have had] some presence of God [on] every Sabbath [and] in assurance or affliction.

And I desire to walk under the feet of God and his people. And [of] all men [I am unworthy], being more vile than any.<sup>246</sup>

## 28.

Martha Collins (ca. 1603-1700) lived somewhere in Essex and later in London before coming with her husband, Edward,<sup>247</sup> and four children to Cambridge in the 1630's. They moved into a home on Holyoke Street, and she added four more children, all baptized in the Cambridge church, to the family during the 1640's. She probably joined the church about 1640 and was still in full communion in 1658. Martha lived to be an elderly, but reliable, matriarch, as John Pike recorded in his journal: "Grandmother Collins departed this life, being very aged, and many years shaken with the palsy, yet retained her understanding wonderful well."

## Brother Collins his Wife

[My] father [raised me religiously], being careful in catechising me. I, looking on myself and comparing myself with others, thought my condition [was] very good, being civil.

But, [when I was] about nineteen years of age, I began to seek the Lord in private [but] only from [the] example of others [and], yet, feeling no necessity of it.

But, [tho] in [the act of] changing my condition, I felt no need of change. But, being in Essex, [I heard]: thou fool this night shall they take thy soul from thee,<sup>248</sup> and [she saw] one paper wall [stood] between him and hell, which [were] truths [that] somewhat affected my heart. But I thought this [sermon] was [preached] to them that were more vile than I. But, going to London, [where] by plenty of means and by my husband's speaking, I saw my original corruption and miserable condition. And so [I] had a hungering after [the] means which were [the] most searching. Yet, I had many objections against mercy, and [I was] beaten off from offers of mercy by thoughts [about] whether I was elected or no. And so [I] refused [the] offer. When [my] husband spoke to me of [a] free offer, I thought it was [from] affection to me.

And, hearing Mr. Shaw<sup>249</sup> [say] that I should look after the Lord for himself, I looked after that.

And, coming into the country, I had no good Sabbaths nor [any] blessing under that ministry.

But, hearing of [the] soul's preparation for Christ, I was stirred up to seek. But then [I was] blockish and sottish again, and so [I] questioned my election.

And so my husband's heart was inclined to come to New England. But, when I came to quickening means, then I

secretly desired it. But yet opposite I was to it by looking upon my miseries here. And yet I saw [my] miseries there [were] towards me and my children. And [I was] very unwilling and discontent when I was at [the ship]. It [was ready] to come. Yet, I thought if Lord should bring me here it would be a great mercy [if] I was alive. And when I came on shore, seeing [the] people living otherwise than I [had] looked for, I was affected. But, meeting with sorrows and feeling no life in ordinances, I thought I was sealed up. Then one child was struck. And then I struggled with God, and so [I was] then pulled down. And then [the] Lord struck my heart, and I thought it was for my sin. And so [I thought]: let [the] Lord do with me what he will.

And afterward I thought them [i.e., they] were too strict in [the] examining of [church] members. And at Boston, hearing the reasons why they did not receive all [the people] that came over, which I forget now, I blessed [the] Lord that followed me. And, after hearing when Judas was gone out then [the] Lord spoke<sup>250</sup> and lest sin [was] to strike at some, even mild ones, [I saw why they were strict in the examining of church members]. And, tho I did not persecute [them], yet I persecuted God himself and struck him; so [I] committed the unpardonable sin. And [I] knew not what to do.

And, hearing on that text [that the] gate is shut<sup>251</sup> and thinking surely now [the] gate is shut for me, so there was my objections answered. And [they were] taken off,

which were never before taken off. And so [I] was persuaded [the] gate was open for me.

And, reading I will forgive iniquities for thy name's sake, here [I] stay[ed].

And coming to Mr. S[hepard] I was asked: [1.] if I had not neglected means 2. if [I had] no need of Christ. And so [he] showed [there was] nothing but will between you and Christ. Meeting with another, she said: let them be precious to you. And, meeting with [the argument] that it is not in man to divine his ways, it answered my objections against inability.

## 29.

Mrs. Moore is probably Katherine (d. 1648), the first wife of Francis Moore,<sup>252</sup> and mother of four. There is, however, a slim possibility that this is the confession of Joanna (d. 1676), the wife of Golden Moore.<sup>253</sup> Joanna was the widow of John Champney, who was alive in the fall of 1639 but died before December of 1642, which is the latest Joanna could have married Golden and had a daughter in September of 1643. Therefore, if Champney died late in 1639 and Joanna married Golden within a few months, it would have been possible for Shepard, in 1640 or early 1641, to call her brother Moore's

wife. The confession fails to provide a definite clue as to her identity - omitting, in the case of Joanna, any mention of widowhood (a fact one would expect to be salient in her mind) or, in Katherine's case, a reference to the children that she and Francis brought from England.<sup>254</sup>

#### Brother Moore his Wife

I thought my condition was good, tho I lived in a profane place from my father.

And - my father asking me if I would come to New England - I refused, which the Lord hath made sad to me since. And, hearing [from] Romans 8:7 [that a] carnal heart is enmity against God, there I saw I was carnal and not subject to the will of God. And so hearing out of [the word at] Lynn [from] Romans 6, [the] ultimate, that [the] wages of sin is death,<sup>255</sup> showing a wicked man [is] wrought for [the] devil, as of for his wages, and hearing lest sin deserved death [I thought how] much more I [did deserve it] that had committed so many. And I saw I could not satisfy [the] wrath of God, and the Lord discovered [the] sin of [my] nature [was] enough forever to condemn me.

And, hearing Christ came to save sinners,<sup>256</sup> my heart was somewhat quickened. And so I saw my own emptiness and poverty of spirit. And, hearing out of Matthew 5 [that

the] poor in spirit were blessed,<sup>257</sup> which supported my heart somewhat, and [hearing] Mr. Whiting,<sup>258</sup> preaching out of Mark 13:35: watch, and out of Matthew 5, [the] hungry [are] blessed,<sup>259</sup> I doubted whether that promise belonged to me. But I desired to wait upon God in [the] means till he should reveal himself more sufficiently to me. And, hearing out of Isaiah 30: blessed are those that wait for him,<sup>260</sup> he showed it was good for some to wait all their days to humble them. And out of Isaiah 55, come and buy wine and milk,<sup>261</sup> I could not but wonder at the freeness of God's grace, which did much break my heart.

And [I heard] out of that place [in Isaiah that] with everlasting kindness I will embrace thee,<sup>262</sup> which did much affect me. And so I resolved to turn from my sin to the Lord, [especially] so [when] hearing let [the] unrighteous forsake his ways and turn and I will have mercy.<sup>263</sup> And when I came hither [I was helped] out of John 13:19. And [I heard] of doubtings and [the] difference between [doubt and faith]. And, hearing of that, it stayed my heart. So when Mr. Burr<sup>264</sup> taught out of Isaiah, hearing of spiritual pride, [I was helped].

And I felt I could not mourn and feared [the] Lord had given me up to hardness of heart. And, speaking to my husband, [I asked] how [he] knew it, viz., that [I was] not affected with hardness of heart.

Being fearful that [I was not] being humbled enough, out of depths I have cried to the Lord,<sup>264</sup> [thinking] that



it was a mercy to be free from [the] depths. And from 30 of Exodus, where [the] Lord had laid [the] foundation, [I saw] nothing [came] between Christ and the soul.

And so, when the Lord filled the temple, I found [the] Lord had filled my soul with glorious apprehensions of himself.

### 30.

Mary Parish (n.d.), probably the daughter of Nicholas Danforth, and sister of Deputy-Governor Thomas Danforth, married Thomas, either a physician or clothier, accounts vary, sometime after he came to New England on the Increase in April of 1635. They may have met at Watertown, where Thomas lived a year, or later at Cambridge. In either case, by 1638, they were married and had a daughter, who was followed by a son three years later. Although Thomas secured freemanship on April 18, 1637, and served as selectman in 1639 and 1640, he returned to his former home in Nayland, Suffolk, prior to 1654, when Thomas Danforth, his agent, sold his homestead. It is not known if Mary returned, but their son, Thomas, graduated from Harvard College in 1659.

### Brother Paris his Wife

Hearing out of Micah, [the] Lord requires of thee to [be] humble,<sup>266</sup> I sought the Lord to humble me. And I thought sometime[s] it was in vain to seek. When I came hither I felt little good, but [I was helped from] 2 Corinthians 5, hearing all world were enemies to God;<sup>267</sup> 1. in their minds enemies [2.] wills [3.] affections. So I saw this, [which] the Lord set on sadly on me. So I sought that the Lord would be reconciled to me. Yet [I was helped], hearing thou hath made me serve with thy sins yet I will blot out,<sup>268</sup> which encouraged me to seek. [I saw] - that tho it was so with me - yet that he would pardon my sins.

Hearing often of the offer of Christ [and] how willing Christ was to receive me, but I thought [the] Lord was unwilling to receive me, etc. And so I found my heart light and vain, and so my heart began to sink. But [I was comforted] - [hearing the] Lord gives strength to them that have no strength<sup>269</sup> [and] hearing also what a sin it was not to believe - yet, I heard affections might be wrought on and not the will. And I saw my heart opposite to the Lord and, hence, desired of [the] Lord to change my will.

And, hearing a servant of [the] Lord, he said [the] Lord would be angry with me if I refused [Christ]; yet, I could not [come to him]. And, hearing of the Lord's free

grace [and how] freely [it was given], it made me seek the Lord.

And, hearing out of Peter [about] an obstinate heart yielding up himself to Christ, [I sank]. But [then, hearing the] Lord will cleanse this [obstinate heart of mine], this stayed [me].

And afterward, hearing [about] how a Christian might know whether it hath doffed Christ, that stayed [me].

And so, hearing that the Lord Jesus made [offers] again [and] believing [the] argument for it, I found that also.

And after this I found my heart going from God. Growing watchless over my heart, at a day at last [I] found not the Lord at all. And [I] could not speak of my condition. And so, [hearing] Hosea 14:3, I desired that the Lord would turn me from my sins.

At our lecture I saw my heart [was] unready for the Lord Jesus, and I knew not whether the Lord ever did anything for me. And the next time I sought the Lord before I came [to lecture] that he would discover my sin. And there [I] heard of three sorts; one [sort] was that some would not use the means to seek [out the] worst of themselves. And I thought that was my condition and so was sad.

And, speaking with one, [I heard] on Exodus 39, [the] ultimate, [the] Lord would finish his work where he began.<sup>270</sup> And there I saw [the] Lord had begun. And so,

[hearing] Jeremiah 38: I am oppressed,<sup>271</sup> [the] Lord encouraged me.

### 31.

Mrs. Crackbone (d. before 1656) lived in London, for a time, before coming to Cambridge in the 1630's with her husband, Gilbert, and possibly two children - one child seems to have died shortly before their emigration. They owned considerable land in the Cambridge area and lived on Garden Street until that home burned down, probably in 1640, just before she joined Shepard's congregation. This was about four years after her husband became a member of the Cambridge church, as he was a freeman on December 7, 1636. Gilbert actively participated in local affairs; he served at various times as a surveyor of highways and fences, constable, and townsman. Mrs. Crackbone died before 1656 when Gilbert married his second wife, Elizabeth Coolidge.

### Brother Crackbone his Wife

Her brother, sending for her to London, [placed her] in a good house. There I considered my course and ways,

especially of one sin. And [I] thought the Lord would never accept me more and was terrified and out of hope.

And, hearing 1 Isaiah: white as snow,<sup>272</sup> I had some hope.

And, seeking out of Mr. Smith's book,<sup>273</sup> [I found] what [the] Lord required, viz., the heart. And [I saw] if [the] heart was given then [the] eye and foot was given.

And so I wished my parents knew me.

And so being married, having poor means, and having afflictions on my child [I was troubled]. And [the Lord] took [my child] from me, and so [I was] troubled [about] what became of my child. And to hell I thought it was, because I had not prayed for them. And so [I] came to New England, [and] I forgot the Lord, as the Israelites did. And, when I had a new house, yet, I thought I had no new heart. And [the] means did not profit me. And so [I] doubted of all [the] Lord had done. Yet - hearing when [the] Lord will do good he takes away all ornaments - [I was helped].

And so [I] thought of seeking after the ordinances, but I knew not whether I was fit. Yet here I was under [the] wings of Christ; [I was under] one of them, yet, not under both. And so [I] saw [my] sloth and sluggishness. So I prayed to the Lord to make me fit for church fellowship and [the] Lord.

And the more I prayed the more temptation I had. So I gave up. And I was afraid to sing, because [I was afraid]

to sing a lie, [such as] Lord teach me and I will follow thee.<sup>274</sup> And [I] heard [the] Lord will break the will of this last work. And, seeing [my] house burnt down, I thought [that] it was just and [a] mercy [for the Lord] to save [the] life of the child. And [I was glad] that I saw not, after[wards], again my children there. And, as my spirit was fiery, so [I desired] to burn all I had. And hence [I] prayed [that the] Lord would send [the] fire of [the] word [and] baptize me with fire.<sup>275</sup> And since [then] the Lord hath set my heart at liberty.

## 32.

Hannah Brewer (n.d.) was probably Anne, the wife of John Brewer. He may have been the John Brewer who came from Sussex on the Lyon in 1632. They married prior to 1642 when they had their first child. Three years later Anne had their second, a girl. John received a small land grant from Cambridge in 1645, but they subsequently moved to Sudbury and then to Framingham. She probably joined the church in 1640 and seems to have gone to Sudbury before 1658, as Jonathan Mitchel makes no mention of the family in his church records.

## Hannah Brewer

I heard what a misery it was to be without God in the world. And [I saw] that I was out of that condition and so was saddened and sick. And [I] thought, if I should die, I should die eternally. So I would not speak of my condition to any[one]. And, hearing of [the] sin of Sabbath breaking and taking God's name in vain, the Lord set that sad on my heart.

And I heard that promise proclaimed: Lord, Lord merciful and gracious, etc.,<sup>276</sup> but could apply nothing.

## 33.

Robert Holmes (ca. 1614-1663), a husbandman, grew up in Northumberland, and lived at Newcastle, Northumberland, just before coming to Cambridge early in the 1630's. At Cambridge, he married Jane;<sup>277</sup> they lived on Brattle Street and farmed their land scattered around the Cambridge area. Attaining freemanship on June 2, 1641, Holmes held several town offices. He was chosen constable in 1649, 1657, and 1662 and served as a surveyor on the highways one year. He also worked on community projects, such as repairing the meeting house. In 1658, Holmes was still in full communion with the Cambridge church.

## Robert Homes

In days of ignorance I [was] contented with common prayer and homilies. And sometime[s] [I] went to [the] word but lived about twenty years in disobedience to parents and subject in my will to every lust that since I have wondered the Lord cut me not off then. And so I removed from my father's house in Northumberland. And there I was [as] rude, as [I] ever [was] before. And we heard a sermon once a month [in] which I heard nothing, but [I did] sleep. And there I fain would [have] stay[ed]. [As] for my spiritual estate, I never looked after it. I was sick to death but took no care for my soul, [caring not] if I died so. And [I] sought to buy cattle when [I was] well. And, at last, I came to Newcastle where I was much given to work and coveteousness. And at last I saw all things here were empty vanities. And I was terrified about my estate. Doubting of a sin, I lived in [i.e., on] doubtfully. And hence at last [I] left off that doubtful sin from a book.

But [I] could not find repentance for sin and my life past. And, hearing Dr. Jenison<sup>278</sup> [preach from] Zechariah 12:10 [about a] spirit of mourning, hence, [my] heart melted, and I had joy. And, tho [the] plague was great, yet I went to the word. And, seeing one that had the plague, I asked [him] what promise I had to live on, and [he said] Isaiah 26: stayed on thee.<sup>279</sup>

In my heart I purposed [to come to New England]. At



last, [I] came to New England and found [my] heart and all [the] ordinances dead. But [I] saw [the] sin of common prayer and so [was] affected and established by Mr. Cotton's<sup>280</sup> white horse.<sup>281</sup>

Hearing: I am oppressed undertake for me,<sup>282</sup> I prayed [to the Lord] to help me, and [he] revealed himself to me. And my heart was melted all [the] sermon time and, being [the] sacrament time, I went home and cried to him.

Still, I am doubting. But I know I shall know if I follow on. And, if he damn me, he shall do it in his own way.

#### 34.

Elizabeth Cutter (ca. 1576-1663) lost her father when she was very young, and her mother placed her with a family at Newcastle, Northumberland. She remained there about six years before moving to another family; then she married. Her husband died, and she left England in the 1630's, following her three children - William, Richard,<sup>283</sup> and Barbara<sup>284</sup> - to New England. They settled in Cambridge where Barbara met and married, probably in 1643, Elijah Corlett, master of the Cambridge Grammar School. Elizabeth lived with her daughter and son-in-law until her death. She probably joined the church in 1640.

## Old Goodwife Cutter

I was born in a sinful place where no sermon [was] preached. [Regarding] my parents, I knew not [my] father. [My] mother sent me to Newcastle, where [I was] placed in a godly family, as I think. And, hearing, fear God [and] keep his Commandments,<sup>285</sup> two of which - [the] third and fourth - I saw I broke.

And [for] six and seven years I was convivial there. Hence, I went to another family, where the people were carnal, and there fell to a consumption. And after[ward I] followed with Satan and [was] afraid he would have me away.

Mr. Rodwell<sup>286</sup> came to me, and he was an instrument of much good to me. And afterward [the] Lord's hand was sad on me. [My] husband [was] taken away. And [my] friends, also, [left me to come] to this place, and I desired to come this way in sickness time. And [the] Lord brought us through many sad troubles by sea. And when I was here the Lord rejoiced my heart.

But, when [I] came, I [found I] had lost all and [had] no comfort. And, hearing from [the] foolish virgins<sup>287</sup> those that [are not] sprinkled with Christ's blood were unloved, so I saw I was a Christless creature. And hence in all [the] ordinances [I] was persuaded nothing did belong to me [and] durst not seek nor call God Father nor think Christ shed his blood for me.

And afterward I went to T[homas] S[hepard] and found

more liberty and so had less fear. But, hearing of [those] foolish virgins [who] were cast off, [I thought] so should I [be cast off], being a poor ignorant creature.

Going to [the] servants of the Lord, I told them I could not be persuaded; one [could not] live so long.

Hearing Mr. S[hepard], [I thought] if I were as Abram and had such gifts then [the] Lord would accept [me], but [he would not] if [I was only a] poor creature. So I sought the Lord the more. And, hearing [a sermon] in [a] day of humiliation, [the] Lord by sundry places rejoiced my heart: Christ came to save sinners,<sup>288</sup> Christ came not to save [the] righteous but sinners,<sup>289</sup> [came] to find [the] lost and broken hearted,<sup>290</sup> [and] come to me [you who are] weary.<sup>291</sup> But I thought I had no repentance. Yet I was encouraged to seek the Lord and to be content with his condemning will and to lie at [the] Lord's feet. Seeing such [a] need of Christ, not knowing whether else to go, and [hearing] that he that comes to me I will not cast away,<sup>292</sup> so, [I] desired [the] Lord to teach me and desired to submit [to him].

### 35.

Jane Winship (d. before 1652) was the wife of Edward Winship, who came from Newcastle, Northumberland in the early 1630's. Edward, a freeman on March 4, 1635, actively participated

in Cambridge affairs; the town frequently elected him to the office of selectman and to more prosaic tasks like fence mending. In contrast to her husband, all that is known of Jane is that she was the mother of four children, all baptized in the Cambridge church. Her confession suggests that she sat under the ministry of Thomas Hooker before he went to Connecticut, but it was probably under Thomas Shepard's care that she attained church membership around 1640.

#### Brother Winshop's Wife

Hearing [from] 2 Jeremiah 14 [about] two evils [and of the] broken cisterns,<sup>293</sup> I was often convinced by Mr. Hooker<sup>294</sup> [that] my condition was miserable, and [I] took all [the] threatenings to myself. I heard by T[homas] S[hepard] [about] the evil of sin that separated [me] from Christ, tho so much [a] pity. And hence I was convinced of [the] evil of sin.

And [I] was afraid to die, and [I thought I] should forever lie under [the] wrath of God. And I heard he that had smitten could heal [from] Hosea 6.<sup>295</sup>

And, hearing T[homas] S[hepard] [say the Lord was a] terror to all that were out of Christ, [I] wondered how they could eat [and] sleep that had no assurance of Christ.

Hence [I was] troubled. Yet [I was] stayed [by that scripture]: [The] Lord takes [the] outcast of Israel.<sup>296</sup>

Hearing one say: one thinks I have no Christ, I heard of David if [the Lord has] any pleasure [in me] he will bring me back again. And, hearing Mr. Eaton<sup>297</sup> out of 80 Psalms, [I thought there is] sickness in every family yet no peace made. And so went under many sad fears.

Hearing Mr. Rogers<sup>298</sup> speak, [I thought] every sermon [I must] account [for]. And [I heard] Mr. Rogers,<sup>299</sup> of Rowly: woman great is thy faith.<sup>300</sup> And, hearing Mr. Wells<sup>301</sup> [say trouble is] caused by [the] want of confession, I went [forward]; I opened my heart about [my] sin against [the] Holy Ghost. I thought it [was] impossible to have my heart changed. [Then I heard] 2 Jeremiah: Is there anything too hard for me?<sup>302</sup> I was comforted.

Hearing of [the] doubts of saints, [I saw] one was [the] waverings of the minds. [The] other [was the waverings] of wills and minds. The one drew them from God [and] the other near to God. I saw it was not so with me.

Hearing: say to them that be fearful in heart behold he comes,<sup>303</sup> [hearing] Mr. Wells [say] pull off thy soles [i.e., shoes from] off thy feet for [the] ground is holy,<sup>304</sup> and hearing Exodus 34: forgiving iniquity,<sup>305</sup> I thought [the] Lord could will [it]. Was he willing? But I saw how rich [he was] to forgive. And, hearing John 13 [and] hearing in [the] use [about the] offer of Christ to offer [himself], [I thought]: Will [the] Lord loose glory

by me that have been so vile? Yet, there is hope, for God hath recovered his glory.<sup>306</sup> And [I heard] that nothing is required but to accept [Christ]. But I cannot. [The] Lord will draw [me]. But how [do I] know that? [I know it] if [I] take [the] Lord [in order] to free [me] from misery and wrath and [take him] as [my] king.

And, hearing a lecture sermon, [I heard in the] use, if content with Christ alone, [the] Lord will visit [me].

Hearing [the question of] whether [everyone was] ready for Christ at his appearing, [I] had fears.<sup>307</sup> [Then I heard of the] city of refuge.<sup>308</sup>

Hearing [all this], [I thought] had not [the] Lord done that [for me], as if I could say there is no God like this. I found that by hearing in him [the] fatherless find mercy<sup>309</sup> [and] hearing oppressed undertake for me<sup>310</sup> [it] eased [my fears]. Hearing [a question about how I knew] whether Christ was accepted, [I thought the signs were]:  
1. whether [the person was] content with him alone 2. when [he was] absent [the person] mourns under it.

Hearing many apprehended Christ and Christ had not apprehended them, [I heard] one [way to tell the difference] was if [the] overcoming love of Christ had been upon their hearts.

Doubting by reason of passion whether [I had] any grace, I desired in a day of humiliation [the] Lord would meet [me]. Hearing humble yourself under God's hand, [I was] comforted.

Hearing of Thomas' unbelief,<sup>311</sup> he showed [we should] trust in [the] Lord forever, for there is everlasting strength. And [it] stayed [me].

### 36.

Jane Palfrey (n.d.) lived periodically at Newcastle and at Heddon both in Northumberland. Her husband died and, shortly afterwards, she brought her two children to New England in the 1630's. At Cambridge she met and married George Willis<sup>312</sup> prior to 1638; they lived on Garden Street and had two boys. She probably joined the church in 1640 and was still in full communion in 1658. Jane died sometime before her husband's death in 1690.

### Goodwife Willowes

It pleased the Lord to let me see [my] sin of ignorance; I used a form of prayer. And [I] came to Newcastle, where I used a form, and, there being a great sickness, all [the people decided] to go from their families. I was cast in a place where Mr. Glover<sup>313</sup> lived, at Heddon. And there [I] was cast down and brought low inwardly, [but] neither can I speak any particular [about my condition]. But I was convinced of such sins as I durst not commit afterwards.

And I came again to Newcastle, but I could not live there. But rather [I] desired to go to a more private family, where I had more liberty. And [I] went under many doubts and fears and was sometime[s] encouraged and sometime[s] cast down. And, when [my] husband [was] gone, I thought all I had was but a form, and I went to Mr. Morton<sup>314</sup> and desired he would tell me how it was with me. He told me, if I hated that form, it was a sign I had more than a form. But I could not be quiet. But [I went] to him and asked: When [is a person] so far humbled as to be accepted in Christ Jesus? He said they [who were humbled] would not think they had enough, but that they would hunger after him the more. And Dr. Jenison<sup>315</sup> and Mr. Morton encouraged me.

And then I had a mind for New England. And I thought I should know more of my own heart. So I came. And [I] thought I saw more than ever I could have believed, [so] that I wondered [the] earth swallowed me not up. And, [hearing] 25 Matthew 5 [about the] foolish virgins [who] saw themselves void of all grace, I thought I was so and was gone no farther. And [I] questioned all that ever the Lord had wrought. I will never leave thee,<sup>316</sup> I could apprehend that. Yet [I] desired the Lord not to leave me nor forsake me. And afterward I thought I was now discovered. Yet, hearing he would not hide his face forever, [I] was encouraged to seek. But I felt my heart rebellious, and [I was] loath to submit unto him and was long under it.



And [by] that [of] Romans 9: hath not [the] potter power over the clay to make me a vessel of honor, etc.,<sup>317</sup> [I] was quieted. But [I] could not resolve to speak to any. At last, I was left to a discontented frame, and I considered what a woeful frame I had, distrusting God's providence. And so [I] was in a confusion in my spirit and could not speak to my husband. So I went sadly [on], loathing myself [that] I should rise against any providence of his. And [I] durst not lift up my eyes to the Lord, [my sins] being so great. Yet, [hearing] 25 Psalms: be merciful because my sin is great,<sup>318</sup> this encouraged me [to go] to God. But then I thought I should dishonor [the] Lord the more in going to him. But, seeing [the] Lord's command, [I thought I should be] in obedience to it, [and] I was encouraged to go to the Lord. [Hearing] Matthew 8 where [the] centurion said: speak [the] word; I shall live,<sup>319</sup> that encouraged [me]. And when [I] heard: I will have mercy on whom I will,<sup>320</sup> [I was encouraged]. But I was made by that word to lie down, and [I] entrusted [the] Lord to keep down my spirit. And, hearing Christ had received gifts for the rebellious, I was made willing. And [I] wondered I was out of hell.

Afterward I felt no hungerings, and [I was] so far from loving as that I hated the Lord. Yet, I entrusted [myself to the] Lord, tho I had let my hold go [on him] yet he would not let his hold go of me. And this stayed [me]. And I went to the elder and then to a friend. And [I] asked

[them] if any had such a heart and such [a] temptation [as I did], and they said: Yes. When I came home again, [the] Lord came to me and showed me [the] need of [the] Lord's strength and support every moment. And [I] was afraid to fall to the same condition again. Yet, I lost it again. Yet [I] heard [the] Lord would give strength to them that have no strength.<sup>321</sup> And [I] went to elder Frost,<sup>322</sup> and he asked me a question which I could not answer. [He asked me] whether I saw a willingness and readiness in [the] Lord to show mercy to me.

And, reading Psalms 42, still hope in God,<sup>323</sup> [I] was encouraged.

And, hearing what a sin it was to resist the Lord, I entrusted the Lord to help me against it.

And, hearing [the] greatest misery [was] to be under sin, I had a fellow feeling of Christ's sufferings. And so [I] had many objections and doubts answered, which I forget.

### 37.

Ellen Green (1600-1682) with her husband, Percival, came to New England in the Susan and Ellen in May of 1635. They soon chose Cambridge as an ideal spot to set up a farm. Once established, Ellen had two children. But Percival died in the winter of 1639, and for a decade she raised the children without the help

of a husband. Then in 1650, Ellen married Thomas Fox, a Cambridge freeman. Percival probably joined the church in 1635 or 1636 - he was a freeman on March 3, 1636 - but she seems to have waited until around 1640.

#### Brother Greene his wife

I was convinced of my disobedience. Hence [I] mourned and prayed but thought this would do the deed. But [I] was in fears of my estate, because [I was] so long under [the] means and yet my sin continued. And I begged [the Lord] to spare my life, when [I was] ill, that I might honor him whom I had dishonored. But, when I was well, I was discouraged. And [I] saw, at last, [the] Lord came to seek sinners,<sup>324</sup> and so [I] intended to seek Christ. And - hearing [from] John 20: 1. if [you] take Christ on his own terms you may have him now [2.] as none loved [him] so [much] as [those who] reject him [3.] now God may set his seal on thee - so I went home in a hopeless condition by [the] reason of [my] sin. And then I heard: tho [your] sins [be] like scarlet I will make them as white as snow.<sup>325</sup> And [I heard] one, [who was] preaching here, [say]: On this rock I will build [my] church;<sup>326</sup> [he] showed how many ways a hypocrite might go and fall short and not build, which sunk [me], because I had built on my affection.

Yet, hearing whether 1. freed from darling sins

2. whether cut off from [my] own ends, which [i.e., there] I saw [I was not]. And, being in a sunk estate, [I heard] Isaiah 41: seek water.<sup>327</sup> And, being in a dead frame, [I heard a sermon] out of Matthew 25, [and he] spoke as if [he had] known my condition. And, hearing: he gives strength to them that have no strength<sup>328</sup> [and] thou hast [the] words of life,<sup>329</sup> I was supported.

## 38.

Henry Dunster (1609-ca. 1659) was the son of Henry Dunster of Balehault, Bury, Lancashire, and was baptized in the Bury parish church on November 26, 1609. The younger Dunster received a university education at Magdalene College, Cambridge where he earned both his B.A. (1630) and M.A. (1634) degrees. Returning to Bury, he taught school and was the curate of the church there. But, being dissatisfied with Laud's administration of the Church of England, he decided to join fellow nonconformists in Massachusetts, settling in Cambridge where he joined the church in 1640 and became a freeman on June 2, 1641. On August 27, 1640, ten magistrates and sixteen ministers of the Bay selected Dunster to replace Nathaniel Eaton<sup>330</sup> as president of Harvard College. Dunster served

well in that position for fourteen years, but he resigned in the fall of 1654 because of his conviction that infant baptism was unscriptural - a view held only by the unpopular, and sometimes persecuted, Baptists. Bay officials, however, did not banish him to Rhode Island, the fate of most Baptists, because of his prestige and service to the community. But, when in April of 1655 the court convicted him of disturbing the ordinance of infant baptism and sentenced him to public admonition, Dunster soon moved to Scituate where he served as a minister until his death.

#### Mr. Dunster

Dear brethren and sisters in Christ I account it no small mercy that the Lord hath called me to give an account to [you] of that faith and love I bear to Christ, his church, and [his] people.

1. Concerning faith.

1. The sum of [the] Christian religion contains faith and obedience, as you are daily taught.

1. Concerning faith, I hold no faith which is not grounded on the revealed will of God in the word - the only rule of faith and manners. So that they are not to be heard, tho

they come as angels from heaven, [if their faith is not grounded in the word]. It teacheth: 1. God 2. ourselves. 1. Concerning God, we come to know him: 1. in his essence [2. in his] persons.

1. Concerning his essence, I believe there is one God, the only maker of all things, who is in himself full, wise, holy, and gracious. [He is in] every way [the] perfect and sufficient ground of [our] happiness and [the] main pillar of happiness to his people. So that our spirit can find no adequate object of happiness but God only, who only can satisfy the spirit and who has a world to command.

This God - so sufficient - yet, made a world in time by the word of his power, by his holy word, Christ, and by his spirit moving on the waters to bring them to form.<sup>331</sup> Wherein, he hath shown his endless power and bounty. I also believe he governs the whole world by his providence; so that no bird or hair falls but by it.<sup>332</sup>

[Concerning] the spiritual creatures, angels and men, [consider] angels; some are good and some are bad.

Man also - by the first suggestion of Satan - fell from God and fell from that blessed image of God; [he was] created in holiness and righteousness. And, believing Satan, [man] did receive the character and image of Satan on his soul. So, in our [i.e., their] natural estate, they have communion with the Devil [and] cannot be subject unto the law.

Man thus falling, God in his mercy comes to seek

man. And when man appears before his creator, tho first convicted of his guilt, yet [he will be saved], [because] he [i.e., God] provideth out of his mercy the gospel that the woman's seed shall break the serpent's head.<sup>333</sup> So that God, pitying our estate, hath sent us a savior, having two natures. One [is] divine [and] begotten of [the] Father before all [the] worlds. The other [is a] manly nature, because he took [a] body and soul. And so [they] are united in one individual person. [He is] God [or] else he could not satisfy [God] nor be a sufficient head for the church; [he came] to shed his spirit for the building up [of the church]. And [he is] man, because man had sinned; and they that sinned must die and suffer. [He] hath sanctified our nature in the [i.e., his] manhood, and in the [i.e., his] person hath perfectly fulfilled [the] law of God and satisfied [God's] wrath. And so [he] hath wrought for us full salvation. I need not speak of his judgement [of] all [people], which I believe as it is [presented] in gospel.

Concerning our union to Christ [and] how we come to Christ:

1. Every man is not [a] partaker of Christ in the visible way. In churches many [men] perish [and] all have not lively faith. Many [men] shall seek to enter in and shall not be able, tho they pretend Christ and faith.<sup>334</sup> Tho, I hope [it is] better in such churches where we are made partakers of Christ by faith only, which faith is not [perceived?]. Every persuasion is not Christ. But [only] lively sticking to God and Christ for life [will save],

[which] is ordinarily wrought by the word of faith. And, hence, let those that do not believe attend on [the] word of faith. This faith, which God works in men's hearts, he doth daily strengthen by those ordinances in his church, especially by [the] word. Hence, [be] not as some erring ones, [who] cast off the word of faith to receive suggestions and revelations without limit, which is provoking God [and causes him] to take away all the spirit. The spirit, breathing only ordinarily in God's ordinances, hence [is] given not [for] ease to them that look only to be fed by heaven, casting off ordinances.<sup>335</sup>

As [with the] word, so prayer is another means to confirm faith. Pray to the Lord, and, when you pray, believe.<sup>336</sup> And so this will strengthen faith.

As [with] prayer, so the Lord hath given two sacraments.

1. Baptism [is the sacrament] by which we have our initiation. And, concerning it, I believe that only believers and their seed ought to be received into the church by that sacrament. Hence, profane unbelievers are not to be received into the church, and [I believe] that their seed are [not] to be received. That of Paul, [regarding infant baptism], is clear: else your children were unholy.<sup>337</sup> Hence, if [you are] holy let them be offered to God. [And Jesus said]: let [the] children come to me.<sup>338</sup> And, as children, so those that come to mature age ought to be received into the church by baptism. And, concerning the



outward elements, something there is concerning sprinkling in the scripture. Hence, [God is] not offended when [it] is used.

You that have been bpatized, and have made a covenant in baptism to forsake [the] devil [resolve to do] away then with pride, [the] world, and [the] lusts of [the] flesh. Hence, live not in licentiousness, etc. And your covenant is to believe in Christ for life. Hence, give up yourselves to Christ, [and do] so for obedience.

2. The other sacrament is the Lord's supper. The outward elements [are] bread and wine. And it is not the quantity of the elements which our souls need but [the] faith in which we receive [the] outward elements.<sup>339</sup> [They] may be given where Christ is not, and grace may be given where [the] sacraments are not. For, tho we have not [the] sacrament every day, yet we may have communion with Christ. Hence, let those that be kept out [of the sacrament] humble themselves so that it be not condemned. And here let me protest against the wickedness of [the] papists, who think Christ is bodily present [in the elements]; faith only makes [him] present. Now, altars and tables have no faith. But we receive Christ spiritually.

3. [Respect] holy conferences. 4. Daily reading [of] the scriptures [is necessary]. 5. The private ordinances, [such] as soliloquies and meditations, [ought to be practiced]. 6. Discipline in the church [is essential]. [The] Lord hath commanded there should be a difference between

[the] precious and the vile. Hence, two sorts [of people] should be held out: 1. unbelievers 2. disobedient. For all [of the] Christian religion, containing faith and obedience, [is] the soul and body of the church. Hence, if he saith he hath faith and hath no obedience,<sup>340</sup> [he] ought to be kept out. If [he is] obedient [but] without faith, i.[e.], walks civilly only, he ought to be kept out. And, hence, this keeping forth is holy, just, and good. And [I] shall labor to [i.e., with] my power to maintain [it]. Nay, if those that do believe and obey, yet, if they walk ill, [they] are to be admonished. If they reform, [we] bless God. But if they do not reform then two or three more [of the brethren are to admonish them], and so at last [they are] cast out.<sup>341</sup> And afterward [they are] to be received, if [they] repent. Hence I bless God to see this.

7. There are also extraordinary helps to help their faith and obedience and for [help with] their sins, [such] as fasting and prayer in [the] case of great calamity. And so when [there is] any special thanksgiving [we are] to feast in God's presence with all moderation. And, if the Lord do[es] pursue our spirit with some special benefits, a Christian may vow part of his substance or endeavor to God, which ought to be performed.

2. [We owe] obedience to God, which flows from faith. For faith, being in the heart, is not connixt.<sup>342</sup> But it is effectual to cleanse [the] heart from sin and to adorn his soul with grace; so that he desires to be holy, as Christ

is holy.<sup>343</sup> Now here they fall from faith, who hold they believe but [also say] they may live dissolutely. These err worse than the papists, for a Christian takes Christ's righteousness and holiness to kill [the] old man.<sup>344</sup> [They take] sanctification, as well as justification, to save them from the guilt of sin on their consciences and [the] power of sin in their hearts. Papists, e contra, think to be saved by their own doings and labor for sanctification. With this last I hope we shall not be pestered, because [the] Lord is [brandishing?] his power. But let us in this country look to the other. The guide of this holiness or the touchstone by which it is tried is generally by [the] word [and in] particular by [the] law, which [is a] law we receive not from Moses out of Christ but from Christ, writing those laws on our hearts<sup>345</sup> by the finger of the Holy Ghost. Now this law is administered either in the letter - and so [it] convinceth [us] of gross sins - [or] in the spirit - and so he is convicted of idolatry, when he loves the creature, he is convicted of Sabbath [breaking] and disobedience to parents, and [he is convicted] when he hath any rebellious thoughts. And so [it is] for [the] sixth and seventh commandments; the thoughts is [i.e., are] against the commandments.<sup>346</sup>

A Christian, having led his life in Christian obedience, I believe the Lord, at death, will take him to himself. At death and judgement [Christ will uphold him], when all Christ's enemies shall be trod under his feet<sup>347</sup> [and] when

[Christ will say]: go ye cursed.<sup>348</sup> And, when he comes, our bodies and souls shall be made like unto him.<sup>349</sup>

Concerning the Lord's personal dealing with my soul, David saith: I will declare thy truth to the great congregation;<sup>350</sup> hence, I will speak.

There was a servant of God, Mr. Hubbard,<sup>351</sup> [who was] powerful. I was not past four or five year[s] old [when] I heard many scoff at his preaching [and] at this great flocking after him. And I asked why men did so. They said to hear the word. And I said then: If it be the word, why do men speak against it [and], if it be not [the word], why do men hear it? But I went no farther.

But, [being] about twelve years old, [the] Lord gave us a minister. And the Lord gave me an attentive ear and [a] heart to understand. And - preaching out of Revelation [they must] repent [or] else they could not be saved<sup>352</sup> and, whereof, they should repent of their sins [was] shown out of the law - this word was more sweet to me than anything in the world. And hence some [people] took notice of me and labored to set on [me] the word by conference. The Lord showed me my sins and [my] recovery by Christ, and [that I must come] to believe what I heard and to obey [him]. But, with [i.e., because of] many failings in the school, I remembered not this work well.

After this I went to Cambridge - where, growing more careless, I lost my comfort. But I came to Trinity to hear Dr. Preston,<sup>353</sup> by which I was quickened and regained so

that the word did follow [me]. But, especially [hearing] Mr. Goodwin<sup>354</sup> out of Psalms 85, I was convinced I had departed from God by folly [and] in dissolute living. And hence I thought if [I] lived unto God [the] Lord would speak peace, [and] if not, e contra, [he would not speak peace]. A month after, my heart did fall off to folly. And the greatest thing which separated my soul from God was [an] inordinate love of human learning. Take heed of this lest, desiring to be as Gods, we become as devils.<sup>355</sup> When I came from [the] university to teach school, the Lord wounded my soul with temptations for five years [all] together. One [person] in this country, seeing me fall in[to] such weakness, spoke peaceably. But in everything the Lord showed me my failing so that, reading Romans 1 and Galatians 5, I saw all the abominations of [the] Gentiles - even to kill parents. It showed I did steal in stealing from [my] parents. So that the Lord showed me how I did live in every sin, and I saw I did leave a stain on every ordinance of God. And the more I did strive to keep the law the more vile I felt myself. And here I thought: thou hast returned to folly and hence I speak everlasting wrath to thee. I saw nothing but doleful horror in [my] conscience. And [I] looked [for death], when lightning [struck], [thinking that it] should kill me [because my] ear [was] open and [my] mind apt to all errors. [My] memory could retain no good, and so [it was] in [my] affections. And [my] heart [was] unthinkably and inconceivably hard.

And at last the Lord showed me where the fault was, that is, that I sought righteousness by the law. In my judgement, I sought salvation by Christ but in deed did not. But [by] Romans 10, [the] beginning, the Lord showed [me] the Jews fell on that stumbling stone.<sup>356</sup> And here the Lord, first, informed, second, persuaded my mind that I could never have my reconciliation and cleansing but the [the] righteousness and spirit of his son. But here I found another obstacle: Will [the] Lord have mercy on such an enemy? Hence the Lord [revealed] Romans 5:8, 9, 10. The Lord showed [me] that, while [they were] enemies, Christ died for the ungodly. And hence I saw there was not only righteousness in Christ, but [it was] even for those that were sinners and saw themselves enemies. And, [while] in fears, here I read the Psalms, [chapter] 40, where every verse took an impression on my soul: I waited patiently, do so, I [am] in [a] miry pit, and set me on rock.<sup>357</sup> So I saw [that the] Lord could do so for me. And, when I saw no offering was required but baring the ear,<sup>358</sup> I saw the Lord must enable me to hear, and [I thought of Psalms 40 again],<sup>359</sup> which said: I come. As Christ and [as] of David, so [I] might be verified of every member of Christ. And I desired [the] Lord would write his laws.<sup>360</sup> And I saw innumerable evils had compassed me about,<sup>361</sup> and yet, as David, [I] thought now is a time. I was enabled to gather seed; it is a time for me to call upon the Lord.

And herein the Lord made me look up to the Lord to

be reconciled, and [he] changed my nature. I believe [the] word, [which says the] Lord would receive an enemy. But I did not discourse [about whether] am I such an enemy as feels it, because I did really feel it. Hence I thought he that is such an enemy [the] Lord might receive [him]. Hence I cast myself on [the] Lord's grace, and then I bid adieu to all righteousness. When, thus, I let go [of] my hold of all things and took hold on Christ, [it was then], Lord, I did believe. And hence [I] loved [the] Lord.

A man must not only see he is a sinner - and so think Christ will receive such a one - but here [he must see] may be a deceit, for a man must hold on, waiting till [the] Lord speak peace. Hence, in such cases stay and wait on the Lord; and, tho you do believe the promise, stay for the spirit till he seals the promise, etc. [The] Lord hath made me bid adieu [to] all worldly treasures.

And, as corruptions in the church came, first, I began to suspect them [and] then, to hate them. But here was my falseness that I was loath to read such books as might make me see such truths, but the Lord helped me against all.

So after ten years [of] troubles I came hither. And the Lord gives [me] much peace to see the order of his people. And I bless God for keeping me out, but I desire you to be careful which scholars enter [in]to your churches and pray for [a] humility of spirit [in them].

39.

John Haynes (1594?-1654) brought his family from Copford Hall, Essex, to New England in 1633 on the Griffin, the ship that also brought John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone to the Bay. Haynes was a "gentleman of great estate," owning the manor of Copland Hall - reputedly worth 1000 pounds a year. Taking up residence at Cambridge, his wealth and social status quickly propelled him to freemanship on May 14, 1634, and subsequently to public office. He served in 1635 as one of seven townsmen entrusted with the "whole business of the town." And in the same year he succeeded, albeit reluctantly, Thomas Dudley as the governor of Massachusetts. In 1637, Haynes moved his family to Hartford, Connecticut, becoming the first governor of the colony in April of 1639. Since Connecticut's constitution, the Fundamental Orders, stipulated that no person could be governor more than once in two years, he continued to serve as governor every second year, and usually deputy governor on alternate years, until his death.

The inclusion of Haynes' relation in Shepard's book, probably given late in 1640 and after Haynes moved to Hartford, raises the



question of his church membership. He should have attained that status prior to becoming a freeman or governor, unless he invested funds in the Massachusetts Bay Company (his name is not included in the extant, although incomplete, records of investors). He may, however, have been one of those exceptional cases where a prestigious individual attained freemanship without joining the church. But it is more likely that he was either a member of the Cambridge church when Thomas Hooker preached there or, later, a member of Hooker's Hartford congregation in Connecticut - no church records exist for either place at that time - or both since Hooker's admission policies were more lenient than other ministers of the Bay. At Hartford, Hooker required no relation of faith before the church and examined candidates privately; and in his Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline Hooker declared that if a man "live not in the commission of any known sin, nor in the neglect of any known duty, and can give a reason of his hope towards God" he was acceptable for church membership. These were standards that the scrupulous Haynes could have easily met and perhaps did, but he was still troubled about his salvation in 1640 and

looked to Thomas Shepard for spiritual guidance, as Haynes said: "desiring to come down to these parts again, which my friends wanted, and, being here [a] long [time], the Lord encouraged my spirit [in] somethings." At Cambridge, he seems to have achieved that long awaited assurance of his salvation, and - perhaps at the suggestion of Shepard or other Cambridge friends or from the ebullience of his experience - he made a testimony of his faith to the church before returning to Connecticut.

#### Mr. Haynes his Confession

Being young, God stirred my spirit somewhat under Mr. Dod's<sup>362</sup> ministry; several saints would meet with me. It was God's great mercy to myself, and other of us, to be under such favors. [It was God's mercy] to restrain us from such sins, which others went running to, and not [to permit us] to blemish our lives with [the] sins of that country [that] others were addicted to.

In Essex, under Mr. Rogers,<sup>363</sup> of Messing, there were many overflowings of [my] affections. Yet that truth was, by my sin, extinguished; so that all those years in England I can make out as disused work.

It was God's goodness to bring us to these parts. We had some sad expressions of God's providences in our

passage hither, where, if we had perished in straitness, I thought I should [go] to hell. But after the straits I went on as I did before.

And, not being long here in this place, [I heard] Mr. Hooker<sup>364</sup> out of Mark 9, speaking of the sins of [the] offending brethren [and warning us] that they should go where the worm never dies out.<sup>365</sup> [Seeing the] most terrible expressions of wrath came from him [i.e., God] and knowing they did belong to myself, by this means I was a long while in [the] most grievous horrors of spirit. And, speaking of Isaac's meditation, he showed a man should pray morning and evening,<sup>366</sup> which I knew not before [but] which suited well with me in that condition under wrath. And so I intended to set upon prayer, and by this means I did find ease in my carnal way in the very slubbering of duties over. And, when my conscience was pacified, this was all I looked for. And so, being calm and casting off the word, [I was] going from one season to another and [was] never troubled. Yet sometime[s] the word would be stirring of me, especially 55 Isaiah: seek while he may be found,<sup>367</sup> which set the more upon me. And then I went to prayer, and there had I ease. But hereafter in this place, hearing that all the world was at enmity with God,<sup>368</sup> my heart was shaken. And this increased my sorrow, especially [when it was] being continued one Sabbath after another [and] where it was pressed. And so my spirit was more wounded than before, and I could not see any way of recovery out of this. And

here my spirit was much stirred; thoughts I had to tell others of my heart, but I was kept off from it by one means or other. Yet one time, occasionally speaking with one in our house, she was sensible of what I found. And careful she was to get out [of me] what she could. And she counseled me to go [and] to speak to others, but I was awkward to it. But she counseled me to attend on the means, and so I had a heart to attend more attentively. These troubles were wore out little by little again. And I began to be calmed again. Yet, when the word came home, I would quench the motions of it by this thought: if God would do me good, he would set it out. Yet, [my] conscience did check me often and that scripture appeared: remember thy creator in the days of thy youth.<sup>369</sup> And, thus, I was carried on in much perplexity. [I was] scarce[ly] able to hide it from others. And, yet, I comforted myself, [thinking] I was not so bad because I was under [a] covenant of godly parents. Yet I was beat off from this. And many promises I applied, as he that confesseth shall find mercy.<sup>370</sup> And here [I] continued some time by false[ly] applying the promises [and] never secure in whether I had the conditions indeed.

But [I had] a hoverly<sup>371</sup> testing of them at Hartford. I heard, by Mr. H[ooker], he that never saw [the] need of Christ should never have Christ, which I could not see. And so I thought to begin again. But they were so tedious and cutting to my heart that I could not think,

[especially] by considering: What, must these sorrows be renewed again? At last [I heard] Mr. Hooker, preaching [of] old England [in his] sermons: they were pricked at their hearts. And, [hearing the] doctrine he raised that there must be a true sight of sin before the heart [can] be affected with it, I could not find I had [it]. Showing how this was, viz., by the law, [he showed] how they must see them[selves]. First, [they must see themselves] in respect of God, as those that did oppose the God of heaven and [as] those that did mullify the diety of God. And [he] showed, as wicked men, [they] did halo the very being of God himself. And now, whether I would or not, I must be cast into new sorrows. And, [second, they must see themselves] in respect of man that it [i.e., sin] made them separate from God and made them incapable of receiving good. And I saw I saw not sin. And hereupon the Lord pressed in upon me, and all [the] former truths came in to aggravate my misery. And hereupon [I had] many slavish fears of the devil and [of] going to bed lest before morning I should fall to eternal sorrow. And I was now fearful of doing [or] speaking lest all should aggravate [some] misery, which I thought was as sure to be inflicted [on me] as I had a being. And so [I] would not eat. And [I thought I could come] to lay violent hands upon myself - hell not being greater, I thought, than what I felt. And loath I was to speak or [have] others [speak] to me. And yet I listened to some counsel. But [I] thought my sins [were] greater than

others, because it was against manifest light. And [I feared] that I was another Francesco Spira<sup>372</sup> and so was afraid to pray. And after this [I heard], also on a fast [day], Mr. Stone<sup>373</sup> [say] the Lord's hand is not shortened [so that] he cannot save; but [it is] sin [that] doth it.<sup>374</sup> But out of Romans 7, [the] penult, he [was] preaching [about the] law of [our] members rebelling and [was] showing the body of death.<sup>375</sup> Here also I came to see more light into my misery. The Lord - seeing me in this case [and knowing] I made use of [the] daily, family instructions [given to me] from my father [and] mother, which did somewhat stay my spirit - would speak something to encourage me, when I was ready to forsake the Lord. And [I had] a little encouragement, [and] then [there] was a great deal of God's goodness. And several times Mr. Hooker spoke something to them that were wounded. Yet, [I] could not get off my fears by all my bother. And, desiring to come down to these parts again, which my friends wanted, and, being here [a] long [time], the Lord encouraged my spirit [in] some-things. Yet many fears I had, tho I desired to make the best of it. And through his greatness [I heard] out of Isaiah 38:9: I am oppressed undertake for me.<sup>376</sup> I found I might say the same words, but I knew not whether the Lord would. Then that doctrine came: he that would get deliverance from [sin and keep the] soul [from being] pressed must [go] to Christ. This was [the] means from heaven as a surety: 1. interceding and promising to

discharge all debts [2.] profaning and answering all accusers. Now I thought - with myself - this was God's great goodness. Being almost discouraged, [I was] still waiting upon him. Showing this remedy, my spirit was much affected and fresh hope of mercy was let into my soul. And [I saw] that such a one must be sensible of his oppressed condition and not [only] that [he should] in his judgement do it [i.e., be sensible] but [in his] heart. Here the Lord stayed my heart. Yet [I was] not without fears. Yet [I had] hope the Lord might be a surety for me. And also by considering Zechariah 13, a fountain head for Judah,<sup>377</sup> and that brazen serpent<sup>378</sup> - and still desiring to walk closely - the Lord bore up my spirit. And [the] Lord went on to give me more. The Lord, in [my] meditation of it, let in some glory of himself from heaven, and I could not deny but these things were in [him]. And, being in prayer, I saw a great deal of the glory of God, but it soon departed. But [it] left me with many sweet notions of the vanity of the world. Yet - I often hearing how God had met with God in means and hearing I had not prepared through my own remissness, which wounded me - then I fell to discouragement. But [the] Lord stayed my heart by considering: Why should [the] clay rise up against [the] potter?<sup>379</sup> Yet [I] had many proud thoughts, which [the] Lord made me sensible of. Yet, subjecting [my] heart to his will, no sooner did I ever subject my heart to his will but [I] had some answer of prayer. And [the] Lord usually let in new

thoughts of mercy, which stayed my heart, [such as] Isaiah 55:1: all that thirst come and live.

The Lord [encouraged me], when I was seeking of his face, to subject myself to his will. And afraid I was to try my heart on any promise. Then I examined [myself, asking] had I that thirsting frame, which I found I had in some measure. And then, considering why shall I spend money for that which is not bread,<sup>380</sup> I considered what need I had of Christ. And the Lord witnessed I did thirst, and so the Lord did draw my heart to himself. And then I had manifest light of my estate. And this was the sweetness [of it], because I thought I wanted this and that. Yet, because [the] Lord saith: buy without money,<sup>381</sup> the Lord also affected my heart. And, thinking how did I know whether the Lord would stir these waters again,<sup>382</sup> hence I thought he would make an everlasting covenant with such souls. This added to my hope.

Now, considering what [the] Lord had done for myself, what should I do for Christ? Finding many times a dead frame and [a] sluggish heart, [I was] opposite to his will. Yet, I find the Lord somewhat weakening [the] body of death<sup>383</sup> which cleaves to me. And hence I was moved to seek the Lord in this way. I had many carnal thoughts. I thought it would be restraining of my liberty. But it lasted not long, thinking the church to be no bondage. And my heart was troubled for this. And I thought if [my] liberty was restrained it was in carnal respects. Hence



[I thought of] Psalms 27:4: one thing I desire [is] to dwell all [the] days of my life.

## 40.

Edward Shepard (before 1606-ca. 1680), a mariner and farmer, his wife Violet, and their three daughters emigrated from Yorkshire and settled at Cambridge prior to 1639, when Shepard purchased a home on South Street and five acres of farm land on the Charles River. Edward, a church member before 1641 and still in full communion in 1658, became a freeman on May 10, 1643, and eventually took an active part in town government. He served in 1656 as constable, in 1663 as a surveyor for a new road to Roxsbury and two years later as a Cambridge selectman. Violet never lived to see Edward accept any of his appointments, dying in the winter of 1649. She did have at least one more child; her son, John, and his wife, the mother of four, were in full communion with the Cambridge church in 1658. Edward married about 1650 Mary, the widow of Robert Pond, of Dorchester, gaining an eleven year old daughter from the marriage. They probably had

one more child, a girl Elizabeth, in 1660.  
Edward lived a full life - his will, written  
October 1, 1674, described him as "having  
arrived unto old age."

#### Goodman Shepard's Relation

The Lord brought me into a family where I saw what a vile creature I was. And - going to hear Mr. Rogers<sup>384</sup> and hearing him speak against Sabbath breaking, which I was guilty of - the Lord set on upon me. It wrought so with me that I had not only thoughts [about] my own thoughts but [thoughts brought on] by [my] acts. Hearing from Exodus they that broke [the] Sabbath should die the death,<sup>385</sup> hence, I was much troubled. And my dame would question my condition [and pray] that the Lord would take away my sin. And, being in a weary condition, [I heard] Matthew 11:27 [and by] this the Lord made some stay [for me]. But, being sent out to sea, I could not continue at means. And there I was laughed at because I would not drink and break [the] Sabbath, as they used to do. And [thinking of] the Lord['s words about being] in this condition, I thought: blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you.<sup>386</sup> And the Lord kept me with a heart - [a heart] desiring to follow him in the use of the means.

But when I came here, and not seeing that need and necessity of the Lord, I thought myself miserable. And

hearing Psalms 119: I will never forget thy precepts,<sup>387</sup> I  
 thought it [especially?] never did quicken me. And, hearing  
 of Thomas' weaknesses<sup>388</sup> and hearing of Nehemiah, that  
 [i.e., who] desires to fear thy name,<sup>389</sup> I found a discon-  
 tented, proud heart and that God resists the proud.<sup>390</sup> And,  
 [hearing] that of Jeremiah: you have done worse than your  
 fathers but [are still] proud,<sup>391</sup> this was set on [me]. Yet  
 [I was comforted], hearing out of Genesis 17 [about] God's  
 alsufficiency.<sup>392</sup> Hearing when a poor creature was in a  
 lost condition and knew not what to do, yet that the Lord  
 was sufficient; the Lord could give a heart and a humble  
 heart. And hence I thought there might be some hope. But  
 I knew not what to do. I saw there was enough in the Lord.  
 But he was a great way off. Yet one morning, considering  
 things, James 4 came to mind, draw near to me and I will  
 draw near to you.<sup>393</sup> Methought the Lord spoke graciously,  
 but I could not come. And I thought: open thy mouth wide  
 I will fill it,<sup>394</sup> but I could not do it. But [I thought  
 of] Exodus: stand still and see salvation of God.<sup>395</sup> But  
 [the] Lord was pleased, [while I was] in this poor condi-  
 tion, to let me hear: [the] gospel was preached to the  
 poor<sup>396</sup> and, tho [my] sin[s] were as crimson, yet he would  
 make them as white as snow.<sup>397</sup> But I could not tell what  
 to do, and so I remained.

## 41.

John Fessenden (d. 1666), a glover, and his wife, Jane, came from Kent and settled in Cambridge in the 1630's. They purchased a home on Eliot Street and owned land in the Cambridge vicinity. He attained freemanship on June 2, 1641, and within two decades achieved some prominence in Cambridge affairs. A constable in 1650 and 1662, a surveyor of highways in 1654, and a selectman nine years between 1656 and 1666, Fessenden still had time to perform less glamorous tasks - such as building fences, marking out land boundaries, or selling timber - for the Cambridge community. They had no children but by 1658 took Reuben Olbon, the son of Elizabeth Olbon,<sup>398</sup> into their home. Jane outlived John by sixteen years, dying at the age of 80.

January 8, 1641: Goodman Fessington

In the days of my youth, living in my father's house, I lived in sin. Lying, [I would] excuse one lie by telling another. And, hearing a minister show that he that was a liar was of the devil,<sup>399</sup> [I was convicted]. And I considered [more] of [God's] commands; [I saw the sin] of

robbing orchards in commandment eight,<sup>400</sup> and I was helped against it. I was in a great strait in my soul, [when I was helped by the] minister, speaking how Pharoh [had] inflicted [the] worst evils when they began to come out<sup>401</sup> and [reading] Matthew 10: he that will be Christ's disciple must deny himself.<sup>402</sup> After this I had some joys and had a desire to depart [from] the world. But upon this Satan cast in filthy notions into my heart. And so I thought I had committed the unpardonable sin. And I durst not make known my condition to any, lest they should be troubled for those things. After [this] I heard from the word: if they could look up to the brazen serpent.<sup>403</sup> I thought I could not do so nor [could I] look up to me [i.e., God].<sup>404</sup> And I was cast down, because I was not humbled. And, hearing how those are drawn to Christ: 1. by [the] word 2. then by motions of [the] Spirit 3. [by the] examples of [the] saints 4. [by the] sacraments, so I went [on] in [the] use of means.

And - I hearing: seek the Lord - I sought. Then I was removed from my father's house. And I was tempted to sell on the Sabbath day. And so I resolved not to sell on that day, and the Lord kept me from it.

Then I heard [about the] sin of using many words, [as] in bragging; so Hebrews 9 came [into my mind]: to die and then to judgement.<sup>405</sup>

And, [trying] to buy as cheap as I could and sell as dear as I could, [greed] was my sin.

And, having no assurance, I hearing [i.e., heard] a man might ask for a sign. And, [my wife] being sick, I asked [the Lord] to give my wife [a] recovery, if he loved me, but I durst not think well of it, etc.

And, hearing forgive [and the] Lord would forgive,<sup>406</sup> [I thought] one sign was to speak [forgiveness].

After this when the book of liberty<sup>407</sup> came forth, being afraid I should not stand in [the] trials, hence, I looked this way.

So I came, as my father was willing. And when I came here, hearing of [the] foolish virgins,<sup>408</sup> [I] complained of [a] want of grace. [But there was] no sign of [a] want of grace. And, hearing of the freeness of the love of the bridegroom and [the minister] speaking that all things were ready in Christ, the Lord affected myself with it. And [the] Lord made me willing to take the Lord Jesus. But after this I was in [a] benumbed condition. Hence, I sought the Lord [to] clear up my condition. And - hearing Mr. Phillips<sup>409</sup> [say the] Lord gives us all things by his divine power, which pertain to life and godliness - I thought all [my] repentance could not satisfy [God's] justice. And [the] Lord brought that [scripture] to mind: come all ye weary and heavy laden and I will refresh.<sup>410</sup> Hence I came to him for justice and sanctification. And, hearing Matthew 25, [I saw] many thought their virtues [were as] good [as] silver, which would prove but tin at [the] last, and all their work was yet to do [i.e., be

done]. And hence [I] grew [in] sadness of heart. And hence [I] was encouraged to go and come to the light, etc. And, hearing of his word [in] Isaiah 38 [and] of Hezekiah['s] pressure,<sup>411</sup> hence, [I] heard [the] pressures of a son and a slave - the one in regard of a son. I saw sin was it which did oppress [me].<sup>412</sup> And [I] have found some mercy and strength against sin. And after this at Boston [I heard] out of 14 Revelation: these are they that keep [the] commands of God.<sup>413</sup> And so, speaking of the covenant which they make one with another, [I heard] Isaiah 62: as [the] young man marries a bride so shall thy sons marry thee.<sup>414</sup> And, [hearing] Psalms 147: broken in heart,<sup>415</sup> I thought I was so [broken], [because of] sin and [the] want of God's love.

## 42.

Richard Cutter (ca. 1621-1693) left England with his mother, Elizabeth,<sup>416</sup> his brother, William, and his sister, Barbara,<sup>417</sup> sometime in the 1630's. He settled permanently at Cambridge and occasionally received land grants from the town. Richard became a freeman on June 2, 1641, and served the community some thirty years later by caring for the fences around the Menotine field. But his greatest service to Cambridge was as a cooper. The town frequently granted

him permission to fell "trees for his trade," enabling him to construct such items as cart wheels or fence rails. And, although twice fined for the "felling of wood and timber on the common with out liberty," the selectmen, in 1673, appointed him and James Hubbard to enforce an order prohibiting "the cutting down any green oak or walnut of loping any tree upon the common with out liberty from the selectmen." His first wife, Elizabeth, had six children, all baptized in the Cambridge church, before she died in 1662. Cutter then married the widow Embsden, eventually adding five more children to his family.

#### Richard Cutter

The Lord was pleased for [some reason] to give my parents hearts to bring me up in the fear of the Lord, tho I had much opposition of heart against my parents and those that were over me. And so I came to this place. And, coming by sea and having a hard voyage, my heart was dead and fearless, and I found my heart as stubborn as before. And, tho I had some affection, yet [it] stuck nothing by me. Yet - hearing thou shalt never wash my feet<sup>418</sup> and hearing [in a sermon] on sin [that if one] continued in [it] with obstinacy and hardness [it] will separate [one] forever



from Christ - I considered, if one [sin] would [separate me from Christ], what would many [sins do], which affected [me] much for the present but not much [longer]. And from [the] seventh verse [I heard]: if I wash thee not,<sup>419</sup> and [I heard] having [Christ] was to subdue a rebellious heart [and] was to bring it to a strait. But nothing stuck [with me] till he came to the thirtieth verse of the same chapter, hearing those that were ready [for Christ] went [to an] immediate communion of it. And at the naming of the doctrine I thought I was not ready for Christ, and one reason [was] because all were naturally unready. But in [the] use [I heard] of [the] terrors. Then [I heard]: thou that art not prepared shall not enjoy him. And very sad it was, and my heart did slight it. But, if I be separated from Christ, it is that which makes angels stand amazed at it. And I stood behind the meeting house, for Judas went immediately out.<sup>420</sup> And [I] observed that [there is] one sin whereby some men pursue their perdition; it is [by] opposing his members. And so, by [seeing] this sin, many other sins were brought to my mind. And so [I] could not speak to any. I could apply nothing but [that] which was against the evil [of my estate]. Yet [I was] supported by some scripture; one [was] from Jeremiah 3:4: Will he refrain his anger forever?<sup>421</sup> I saw I had done as much evil as I could. And [I heard] Jeremiah 8:4: Shall they fall and not arise? [Shall] the Lord turn away and not return? And another [I heard] was Hosea 6, [the] first

[and] second verses. I considered the Lord hath wounded me, and we shall know if we go on. And so [I] was encouraged. And [from] Matthew 25, hearing of [the] many differences<sup>422</sup> - one was to live to God - I thought it would be [the] greatest mercy if ever the Lord would help me to live to God. I knew not which way to go, and I thought I did sin in eating. And I considered I had sins enough, and hence [I] needed not [to] neglect my body. And, hence, on [the] lecture day [I saw] a friend. Coming to ask how it was with me, he said: Take heed you do not keep the devil's counsel. And [the] next day he came again and spoke to me. And hence I considered of the bitterness of sin. And in private I began to consider the bitterness of sin. And, hearing out of Mark 14 Christ was sorrowful to the death,<sup>423</sup> [I heard] there were four causes: 1. Christ saw all the sins of them. 2. He saw the wrath due to them. 3. [He] felt the intolerable[ness] of wrath. 4. He had felt the presence of the Father. And, by thinking thus, sin became bitter unto me.

And, thus, after [the] consideration of my condition I complained I was ignorant of his people's ways. And, hearing Mr. Phil[lips]<sup>424</sup> about calling, [I stayed].

And from Mr. Wells<sup>425</sup> [I] saw how [the] sin of [my] nature did ungod God. And thus, going on in 25 of Matthew, [verses] 11-12, [I] observed it is a sad misery not to be known of Christ. And [I] saw [the] evil of this: 1. not to have one thought [or] word [for his] shed blood

[2. nothing to] do for him nor [to] accept anything from him nor to accept anything. This was very sad to me. And, [hearing] Joel 1:8 [and] Lamentations 1:16, both set on my heart, and I considered [the] bitterness of being parted from Christ. And, being on Mark, [I heard] if one did not mourn from ignorance of Christ [it was his bitterness]. And, [hearing] Mr. Mather<sup>426</sup> [quote Paul]: I count all things loss,<sup>427</sup> so I had [some] stirring up of desires after Christ.

I was counseled to believe in Christ, but I could not believe in Christ. And, hearing Matthew 25, [I heard] to labor to accept [the offer] of Christ, when [he was] offered, showed [the] offer was universal; hence, [it was]: [1.] personal 2. real 3. vehement. And, [hearing] Revelation 3, [the] ultimate: I counsel thee to [the] blind and poor,<sup>428</sup> [I thought] if [the] Lord counseled them that felt not [he would give] much more [counsel to] a soul of means, [who was] after the Lord Jesus. And [I heard] Revelation 22, [the] ultimate: freely take it.<sup>429</sup> And the Lord, thus clearing the offer he would have me receive [him], it only [left] one objection; I was humbled [but I wondered] if [I was] so much humbled as to come to Christ enough. And, when I was come home, I considered: What shall I do? But then [an] objection [came], but may strength preserve [me]. But, looking on 2 Corinthians 19, [I saw] if I took Christ [my trespasses would not be reckoned unto me].<sup>430</sup>

And after this the Lord cleared up Christ more fully.

## 43.

Frances Usher (d. 1652) was the wife of Hezekiah Usher, the first bookseller in the English colonies. Frances may have married him in England or, possibly, met him at Cambridge sometime after their emigration in the 1630's. In either case, they were wed before 1639 when she had their first boy. That same year Hezekiah became a freeman, and two years later was chosen to survey the Cambridge town lands. Meanwhile, Frances joined the Cambridge church, probably in 1641, and had another boy before the family moved to Boston in 1645. At Boston, she had two more children but died while they were still young. Hezekiah lived until 1676, becoming a Boston selectman, an agent for the Society for Propagating the Gospel, one of the founders of the Old South Church, and a deputy to General Court from Billerica.

## Goodwife Usher

The Lord first convinced me of the breach of the Sabbath and how I had done nothing else but dishonor him. And I wondered the Lord had not cast me to hell. And, hearing [the Lord ask] of Jonah: Do[est thou] well to be angry?<sup>431</sup> I was affected. I could do nothing else but sin against God. And I thought the Lord would cut me off. I heard: come to me you that be weary<sup>432</sup> and Lord turn me and I shall be turned.<sup>433</sup> And so when I desired to come hither [I] found a discontented heart, [my] mother dead, and me heart overwhelmed.

And I heard of a promise [which said]: Fear not I will be with thee.<sup>434</sup> And in this town I could not understand anything [that] was said, [because] I was so blind. And [my] heart [was] estranged from [the] people of people. And in one [of the] sermon[s] of Mr. Hooker<sup>435</sup> [I heard about] those that would be peevish, etc. And afterward I heard [the] reason why [it was] that men profited [nothing], because they came to seek a man [and] not God in man.

And out of Matthew 25 [I heard of the] difference between [the] virgins.<sup>436</sup> And [I heard] John 13: if I wash thee not no part.<sup>437</sup>

[The] son of obstinacy [is] shut out [but] not [because of the] sin of ignorance but [from] obstinacy, etc. [I saw this from] hearing Mr. Weld<sup>438</sup> [preach, saying] look on him whom pierced Christ.<sup>439</sup> [He showed] my sins do

[i.e., did] it. And hereupon the Lord set it on upon thy  
[i.e., my] heart.

Would a man that hath an enemy let out his heart['s]  
blood to cure [him]? Yet, [he might let out] some blood  
but not his heart['s] blood, Matthew 25.<sup>440</sup>

And one asked me whether I could submit to [the]  
condemning will of God. And I considered [the words] of  
Christ: not my will but thine.<sup>441</sup>

I heard also that all [of] God's work was electing  
work, etc. And, hearing of [the] human nature of Christ,  
there I saw much ignorance [in myself].

#### 44.

Ann Errington (1576-1653), having lost her husband  
some years earlier, left Newcastle, Northumberland,  
and settled at Cambridge with her two children,  
Abraham and Rebecca. Once established, she became  
a member of Shepard's congregation in the early  
1640's. Both her children grew up to enter into  
full communion with the Cambridge church: Rebecca  
prior to 1658 and Abraham in 1663.

#### Widow Arrington

She, living in ignorance till she came to Newcastle, [went]  
to a godly family. And it was harsh to her spirit, being

bound seven years. And I resolved, if [I was] ever loose, I would be vile. But yet she was restrained. And afterward the Lord provided a godly husband, who thought me so. But I was not. And - hearing Dr. Jenison<sup>442</sup> [preach on] Lamentations 3: let us search and turn to the Lord,<sup>443</sup> which struck my heart as an arrow - it came as a light into me. And the more the text was opened [the] more I saw my heart. And, hearing that something was lost when God came for [it], searching [for it], [I saw I was lost]. And, when I came [home], I durst not tell my husband, fearing he would loath me if he knew me. And I resolved none should know me. I would [not] tell [anyone]. And so I kept it [for] two months. But - he pressing upon me - I told him; [the condition was] if he would not tell Mr. Ador.<sup>444</sup> Yet he told his wife. And, being in that family where he was, he began to speak to me. And then I thought I was discovered. But he showed me the blessed estate of them that have their sins pardoned. But I cast all off, because I thought, having lived under means, [the] Lord would never pity me.

But [my] husband died, and then I was troubled and somewhat confuted out of a Psalm. And, hearing Dr. Jenison out of Acts 2:37, I saw my heart had been so vile. And, hearing John 1:12, [the] Lord helped me marvelously to attend there; I thought I had rejected Christ. And the Lord gave me a heart, as I thought, to close with Christ as [the] best good and to stoop to his will. And afterward

[I heard] he that is in Christ is a new creature.<sup>445</sup> I saw my heart changed.

And, feeling not the means work, hence I desired hither to come, thinking one sermon [here] would do me more good than a hundred there.

And, hearing children would curse [their] parents for not getting them to means, [I took mine]. But I found not what I came for hither. And [I] found no rest; my heart was so dead. But after awhile, when [I heard] lecture sermons [which] came after [my] sickness, I was very sad in my spirit. But there was something spoke[n] that came near to me. I saw I had rejected the Lord Jesus, and I was very sorrowful. And so I was very sad. And, going home, I resolved I would use [the] means for help and was very much cast down. And on [a] Sabbath day, on [a] sacrament day, [I heard] Hezekiah was humble.<sup>446</sup> And I thought I was not humbled. And in [the] latter end [of] that sermon there was [a section on the] obedience of sons and servants. Then I thought: Would I know? And I thought [the] Lord gave me a willing heart, etc. And, [hearing] they that have sons can cry: Abba, father,<sup>447</sup> so [I] had some stay. And I wished I had a place in wilderness to mourn.

I heard the Lord had apprehended me: 1. that he that overcome[s] [2.] drawn my heart [3.] there was a scripture: I have loved thee with everlasting love.<sup>448</sup> And so [the] Lord supported me.



So I heard of Christ [and the] little ones begot by promise,<sup>449</sup> and so I feared I was [not] one.

And [at the] last lecture day [the] Lord let me see something.

#### 45.

Mary Griswald (n.d.) came to New England alone, meeting Francis, her first husband, after settling at Cambridge in 1637. Francis was a drummer, and in 1636 the town granted him two acres of land for "his service amongst the soldiers upon all occasions." In 1639 Mary had her first child, a daughter. By 1642, they purchased a home and, a few years later, some additional land in the Cambridge area. Francis became a freeman in May of 1645; Mary, meanwhile, bore two more children. Then, in the fall of 1652, Francis died. And Mary took a second husband, a William Bullard, prior to 1658 when they were both in full communion with the Cambridge church.

#### Goodwife Grizzell

In my vanities I thought [about] how happy I [would be] if I might ever live so. But I thought again, [hearing] the

Lord Jesus should come to judge the quick and the dead.<sup>450</sup>  
 But I had no fear wrought of sin but had some sad thoughts  
 of that condition. And hearing my mother, [who was] speak-  
 ing, [say] I must be born again,<sup>451</sup> I was sad. But [I] was  
 cheered. But, thinking I must be born again, I thought:  
 How [is it] I must be so [born]? But, being without means,  
 I thought God had ever left me. And so I desired to leave  
 things. And I saw I had nothing but opposition against the  
 Lord. And I heard God was alsufficient and so might support  
 me. But yet I knew I was vile; I saw neither his power nor  
 [his] saving [or] working [grace]. And, hearing [that the]  
 prayer of wicked [is] abominable,<sup>452</sup> I thought it would be  
 as bad to leave seeking [as to stop praying]. But, wanting  
 means, I desired to go from thence. But, hearing on the  
 word, there I was straitened. And [I was] dead there, as  
 bad as ever. And my heart [was] not receiving the truth  
 in love; so I thought I was given up. And, hearing: Are  
 not your ways unequal?<sup>453</sup> Are not yours so?, so I thought  
 it was because of my inequality. And I heard of [the]  
 beauty of holiness, but I saw none. And so I thought of  
 treasuring wrath against [the] day of wrath.<sup>454</sup> And so I  
 was troubled. But [the] Lord [helped me by] bringing one  
 to preach, [and I heard] blessed are they that mourn and  
 hunger.<sup>455</sup> But I thought this was not for me. And, showing  
 what it is to mourn, I found, tho [I was] vile, yet, at last  
 I did hunger. But after[ward] I thought I must be filthy  
 still.

And afterward I heard the deliverer shall come from Sion and shall turn iniquity from Jacob.<sup>456</sup> I wished I had a part in it. And I heard of [the] fruitful desert, [hearing it shall blossom] as a fruitful seed.<sup>457</sup> And the Lord gave me power to see that minister at [the] end of the day. And there [I heard about] the covenant [in] Ezra 9: let us put away the strange gods,<sup>458</sup> And [I] heard, etc.

And, hearing Mr. Davenport<sup>459</sup> [while] on [the] sea, [I saw] he that hardened himself against the Lord could not prosper. And I thought I had done so. But then he showed it was [the] continuing in it [that angered the Lord].

And I considered, tho I had a principle against faith, yet, a kingdom divided [against itself] cannot stand.<sup>460</sup>

#### 46.

Jane Champney (d. after 1669) emigrated from England in 1634 or 1635 with her husband, Richard, and their young daughter, settling in Cambridge. Richard quickly rose to some prominence, owning three houses in 1636 and eventually accumulating an estate appraised at almost 1500 pounds. Joining the church in 1635, he became an elder and a freeman the following year. While Richard participated in the church and

community, Jane was kept busy having babies - eight in all between 1633 and 1645. Despite the hazards of childbirth and the strains of raising such a large family, Jane outlived Richard, who died in 1669.

There is a remote chance that Joanna Champney gave this confession. But it is only possible if her husband, John, died after she gave her confession, sometime after January 8, 1641, and yet before December of 1642, the latest she could have married Golden Moore and had a child on September 15, 1653.<sup>461</sup>

#### Goodwife Champney

The Lord brought one to teach with us, [and it was from his preaching] that I saw the Lord's people were the most happy in the world. And I stood convicted of [the] neglect of prayer; so I went to borrow a book [about how] to pray. And [I] was convinced of sin. And, hearing Mr. S[hepard], I thought [my] time was past, because [of] what I heard: [you] rejected my word and I you.<sup>462</sup> And still [I thought my] time was past; [the] reasons were because of my will, [which was] opposite to Christ. And I heard that scripture: I will work; who will let him?<sup>463</sup> So I thought the Lord might help me. And again I thought [my] time was past. I thought

the Lord had not prepared me nor given me a heart [to take] Christ on his terms.

And I thought no condition was wrought; hence, none did belong [to me]. Yet I heard there was [life?], heating,<sup>464</sup> and overcoming mercy in Christ. And so I thought there might be mercy for me. So all my objections were taken away in public and private. And methought I saw the heavens and earth in a new manner.<sup>465</sup> But then I thought this was too good [a] news, and I cast it off. And then I thought: eye had not seen.<sup>466</sup> And then I thought I never [had] such cause to loath myself as then and was willing to cast away. One sin I was loath to part with. But then I did.

But I was, at last, brought hither. And I thought I should be drawn [to Christ].

When I was brought hither, I was in some sadness and would not speak. And, hence, [I was] in straits.

And [I was] discontent[ed] with my married condition. But I was quieted.

But I thought [I wanted] to go back, but I considered: Is my spirit straitened? And so I fell upon myself and justified God in what he had done or should [do].

And I saw a vexing in all I did. And my life was a death. And, when I knew not to do, my eyes were [turned] to him. And I considered, tho hope fail, yet [the] Lord undertook for me. And I thought I was lost and unaffected. And I thought [the] Lord had left me to be so.

47.

Nicholas Wyeth (ca. 1595-1680), a mason, left Chardstock, Dorsetshire around 1638 with his wife and their two children. Although their boy died at sea, they still went on to New England and settled at Cambridge. In 1645, they purchased a house, with "out-houses," and a few acres of arable land, periodically enlarging the acreage of their farm. Nicholas seems not to have sought freemanship. Nevertheless, the Cambridge selectman occasionally called on him to survey fences for the town. His first wife died - probably after having a third child who died about the time Nicholas gave his confession - sometime between 1645 and 1648. After her death, he married Rebecca, widow of Thomas Andrew and mother of three. They were in full communion with the Cambridge church in 1658 and by that time had increased its potential membership by five.

January 7, 1645. Goodman With

It pleased the Lord - being set [forth] out of his full mercy - he [i.e., to] let me see the evil of not keeping the Sabbath, [when I was] about sixteen years of age, being a prentice.<sup>467</sup> I went to that company that drew [me] to

idleness. And [the] Lord helped me out of [it by chapter] 16 of Ezekiel: when I was in my blood and when no eye pitied.<sup>468</sup> I saw he was the refuge for pity, [and I needed it] for I had profaned the Sabbath much. But I saw, through [the] Lord's help, I was not in my way. And I was much troubled that I had so spent the Sabbath. And, hence, I went out to hear the word. And, having none at home, I desired to hear them that were [the] most suitable to my condition, [who were able] to stir up my heart. And, going to hear one Mr. Salby,<sup>469</sup> I did affect his ministry. And I did somewhat profit by it. And so I had much love to the word, for I saw that I was lost and that it was the means of help. Preaching out of Cantiles [and] showing my beloved is mine and I his,<sup>470</sup> he showed they that loved Christ [were loved by him, because] he loved them as his own. And the Lord kept me and encouraged me hereby. [But I have] much still to go. And [I] heard other good men. And every Sabbath day I went four miles to hear him [for] about a year. But I went on very poorly, as I have done ever since. And I took every opportunity I could, and [I] could get liberty of my master to go out to hear. But, yet, tho I went on poorly, [I] yet had much love to the word and loved [the] society of them and God's people. And so I lived twelve years. And [the] Lord brought Mr. Borrow<sup>471</sup> some sixteen miles off, and I was able-bodied then and went often to hear him. And by brother Danfort<sup>472</sup> [I] went out [to hear him, although] having means in the town. But I

heard Mr. Burow [preach] out of Galatians; he said: as a man sows so he shall reap.<sup>473</sup> He showed a natural man did [not] sow anything that was good; everything was evil. And I saw I was in my natural condition. Yet, I went out to heart and went twenty mile[s] off to [hear] Mr. Rogers,<sup>474</sup> [preaching] out of Colchester: if risen seek things which are above.<sup>475</sup> But, tho I did hear much, yet I could not see my heart brought so near [to God] as I did desire, for I had been very careless in remembering what I heard. And for sixteen years [I] went on so in old England. Hence I came to New England, being persecuted and [in] court for going from the place where we lived. And hence I used [the] means to come hither, where we might enjoy more freedom. And I had much joy in going about this work. Tho I had lived very fool[ishly], yet my heart much convinced me that I should live under [the] means [that were the] most powerful. And so I was much opposed by my friends and [by the] enemies of God, discouraging of me. And the Lord helped me to withstand them that did oppose me, for I could not be content to live where I did. And I went through many difficulties before and when I came to sea. Yet I went on. And God took away my son, some telling me the Lord was displeased [with me] for going on. But [the] discouragements of natural friends I regarded not. And I did not care, tho the Lord took away all I had. Yet, I had many things to call me back. My wife [was] all the time going through many afflictions. And then I thought of what



others said; [they said] the Lord would meet with me. But I did not look on [my] coming to New England was [i.e., as] the cause [of my troubles]. But [I] did believe [that], if the Lord would bring my child and self hither, the Lord would recompense me by [the] means. When we came here, the Lord raised up my wife. And I did much rejoice to see the place, see the people, and hear God's servants. Only [it] troubled me to see [the] death of Mr. Danforth. Yet I thought God's people were a loving people. So the Lord stirred up some friends here. And, having friends at Long Island, yet I would not go thither. And yet God's hand hath been much against me since I came hither. And I know not why; but [I think] it hath been for my carelessness in not watching over my child in regard of the sin of the family,<sup>476</sup> which God [has] set on [me]. Tho I have been much drawn away unto new plantations, I could never see a clear way to go away, for I saw so much of [the] love of God's people here that I thought I should bring much evil on me if I did remove. But, for [i.e., because of] that sin which broke out, it had been good for me if I had never came hither to this place. The Lord's hand hath been much [stretched] out against me and is so still. He gave me a child after my own heart, and God hath taken it from me. And it is so just, for I have gone on so formally and coldly since I came here. Tho I have enjoyed much in public, yet I have been very unfruitful and unchristianlike.

E:<sup>477</sup> Question. Do you remember nothing about your

misery and [the] way of mercy? Answer. Yet, I have been much affected out of 25 of Matthew and 14 John. But I am shallow. Question. Do you remember nothing [about] how God hath tended Christ to you? Answer. In Ephesians 2 I heard when [we are] far off then [we are] made near,<sup>478</sup> and [the] Lord let me see [there was] no way to be saved but by his own free grace. Question. What effects did it work?

Answer. I saw it was his free grace [working in me] to encourage me to go on; the Lord let me see I had nothing in myself. Question. Did the Lord ever give you any assurance of his love in Christ? Answer. The Lord let me see if [I was] not born again I could not enter into [the] kingdom of God.<sup>479</sup> Question. What supports the heart with hope?

Answer. Nothing [supports the heart] but [the] free grace in Christ. I did fear I should not be able to speak the truth. But I have been very unprofitable, and so it appears. Yet I desired to enjoy [the] society of God's people.

S:<sup>480</sup> Question. What [is your] ground of assurance? Answer. [I have assurance] because love began. Question. How [do you] know that? Answer. [I know it] because of that good [which] I see in them and would get from them, and I think [of] myself [as] unfit to come into their society. Question. Have you no fears? Answer. Yet, [I have fears] of death, [especially] in regard of [my] unprofitableness, [and] unsensibleness of my condition and [from my] want of assurance. C:C:<sup>481</sup> You complain of unsensibleness. What is [the] cause [of it]? You said

drowsiness. Question. Is there no other evil but that?

Answer. Yes, I have a wandering eye, [which is] not attending upon the word. But [I have been] helped since I saw it. Again, I have not made use of God's people [in order] to get into their societies. Question. Are you as one [of those who is] unfit till he be thrown down. Answer. I am convinced by this that my unfitness [makes me] unfit to partake [of the] sacraments. Question. You rejoiced much when [the] Sabbath came? Answer. [Yes, I rejoiced. Question.] How [can] this be and yet [you are] sleepy? Answer. I had, when [the] Sabbath came, great hopes to see what I have not seen, and hence [I was] joyed. Yet, it hath been with a great deal of deadness. And I [have] labor[ed] against it, have striven against it, and have hoped the Lord would then meet with me.

E:L,<sup>482</sup> Question. What did you mean when you said you comfort yourself with vain hopes? Answer. [I have vain hopes], because I have heard as unprofitably after hearing [the word] as before [hearing it], tho I went with much expectation. Question. What have you new to hear that might make you hope the Lord might meet with you? Answer. I did believe that that was the means, viz., hearing [the] word and [by] prayer, and so I knew I was in [the] way because [I heard]; draw near to me and I will to you.<sup>483</sup> Question. Would [the] Lord deny [you]? Answer. [there is] no want in him, but [there is] in myself; yet, I have

comforted myself in waiting upon the Lord. Question. Are you privy to any guile in your way? Answer.

Question. [Do you know] whether if your course be too tall or no or [if the] sense of that [pride] makes you lie down? Answer. I have had continual strivings against it, according to light, but I have been of a very forward, lusty nature.

Question. Have you some profit in God's ways? Answer. Yes. Instance. Answer. I have seen more of the love of the Lord Jesus by such truths [as] I heard not in old [England], as how to observe [the] Sabbath and prepare for it. And [I heard] others [of] which I cannot speak. I have heard much of Christ's love, but [I] cannot remember [the doctrines]. And [I have] been much supported. And [I] heard of [Christ's] love, [which] hath brought me into [an] awe of his will. Question. Have you not seen more into your heart and life? Answer. Yet, [I have seen] out of [the] commandments. E,F,<sup>484</sup> Then there is something of fruitfulness?

Question. What use make you of Christ in [your strivings] against that sin? Answer. I heard out of John without me you can do nothing.<sup>485</sup> I have seen by [the] way of [the remainder of the line is blank].

Question. What is your chiefest desire in secret, when [there is] no other [near]? Answer. [I desire] that the Lord would manifest himself more to my soul in Christ and [through the] power of [his] ordinances. Question.

Why do you forget things, brother? Answer. [Question.] Answer. I see [the] cause [is] right in my own heart why [the] Lord should deny me, [and] I know [of] many things in my practice; I have not so meditated on the word [as I should].

## 48.

John Jones (ca. 1624-ca. 1670) was the son of John Jones, the pastor at Concord, Massachusetts, from 1635 until 1644 and at Fairfield, Connecticut, from 1644 until his death in 1665. Young John, who was about eleven years old when his family moved to New England, came to the Bay Colony in October of 1635. Having made the trip on board the Defence, John probably met Thomas Shepard as a fellow-passenger. Shepard certainly remembered John's father, writing in his Autobiography of the edifying faith, prayers, and preaching of "Mr. Jones." After a few years of residency at Concord, John moved to Cambridge and attended Harvard, where as one of the "first fruits" of the college he earned his M.A. in 1643. He became a full member of Shepard's congregation sometime between January 7, 1645, when Nicholas Wyeth gave his confession,<sup>486</sup> and

May of 1645, when Jones became a freeman.  
Probably shortly thereafter, and definitely  
no later than 1650, Jones went to preach at  
Nevis in the West Indies, where he died about  
twenty years later.

Sir<sup>487</sup> Jones

After the Lord brought me out of [my] native country with  
my parents into this country [and] after I had spent some  
time with [my] parents and began to grow up to [the] years  
of discretion, my parents, as formerly, so then [began to  
instruct me. They instructed me] more, especially after my  
father was raised up from [his] sickness, [because] the Lord  
was pleased in an extraordinary manner to stir him up to  
exhort his whole family to seek after God. But [he] took  
more than ordinary pains with me [in order] to show me my  
estate by nature. [He said], unless the Lord brought me  
into another [estate] - [for] then he doubted that I was in  
[a saved condition] - [I was lost]. But the Lord did not  
make me then to attend to anything about myself; [I did not  
till sometime after[ward]. [I heard] the [minister],  
preaching out of 90 Psalms: thou setest secret sins in  
light of thy countenance<sup>488</sup> - where he preached many sermons  
on that text - which was first time that I remember God set  
home anything unto me. And at that time, hearing those  
things, it pleased God to help me to look into my condition.

For then - hearing it was not so much [for the] gross and open sins, especially in times of light and in these places, but it was [the] secret sins [which were] laid close to the heart [while] under plentiful means - something was set home, although I could not apprehend any work of God upon the soul. But then I lay under many troubles and much confusion of spirit. And I knew not what should be [the] cause of [my] trouble. I thought it [was] melancholy, and then [I] labored to rid myself of it. Hence [I] went to company, which did me much hurt. And in that state I contented myself for sometime till I came to hear what was spoken by Mr. B[uckeley],<sup>489</sup> preaching about the covenant, where he showed that everyone by nature was a prisoner in a pit and [a] dungeon with no comfort to be found.<sup>490</sup> And there [he] showed [the] state of every natural man [was] as [a man] in a dungeon, sticking in his sins, [and he was] to be kept [there] by Satan. And [he showed that is] wherein [the] greatest part of [the] world should lie, unless [i.e., except] a little number [of saved people]. But [he showed the] greatest part of [the] world must so remain. And this the Lord made me to consider of and to open my eyes to see I was a prisoner and kept by Satan and no hope did appear of deliverance out of it. At which time, as I found myself in a sad and miserable condition, so [I] had many fears and perplexities of spirit. Seeing my end and considering what was the cause of those fears, I saw no other cause but this, which was cause enough to drive

me to utter despair. Tho I had thought myself far better than many, yet I saw my condition was such that if any had provoked the Lord more I was he. In regard of those sins, the Lord manifested [them] to me. Tho God left [me] not to gross sins, yet, when I consider again what means, mercy, [and] counsel of parents, which I did partake of daily and hourly, I thought the Lord could not do more for me. And yet I take such liberty in secret to commit those sins. And then I could not see how God in justice could give me mercy that had so sinned. And I saw it was just for the Lord to deny mercy to me, that [i.e., who] had refused instruction so often. It was a pretty [long] while that I was bound up in these fears. And, tho I did seek to get [a] remedy of [i.e., for] these fears, yet I saw not the way. I saw no way but to humble myself before God, the person offended. But the Lord left me so to my own blindness that the more I strove against sin the more I found it to increase upon me. And [I was such] a great distance from God that when I came to seek [him] I found such molestation that the more I sought [him] the more I provoked the Lord against me, insomuch that I resolved rather [to] give over all seeking of God and leave myself to him. But, living daily under [the] word and being convinced of my misery, [I saw] that there was a remedy. I was persuaded to attend upon those means wherein I might find him. So that I was resolved to manifest my desires, tho [I had] no hope of helping myself out of my condition. And loath I was to make my state known



to any that might have helped me until, hearing Mr. B[uckeley] farther, [I saw] that, tho man was [in] misery, yet there was a means of delivery. And [I heard] that the Lord would find out such [as were his], tho [it took a] long time. And he showed that this means was [by] laying hold on Christ, [because] he had made a covenant with all his. And the condition was faith. And, showing the several degrees of faith, [he said the] best was when a man saw himself in his misery - not knowing what way to go but to fly to God and [seeing] if he went to God it was [only to] fury and wrath. Yet, [he said the] best [was] when a man could see nothing in himself nor [find] favor in [himself with] God to draw him to him. Yet [God] could with [an] infant. Tho it could not cry, yet [the infant] could cast an eye upon the nurse. So, when he heard [of] the free grace and mercy of God, [he] could cast an eye after Christ, tho [he] could not cry after [him]. I considered of this, I thought it was a happy thing for them that could do so. But I could not see any such invitation to me, who had despised grace. Yet it wrought this much [to me]; [I saw] that, so long as [the] means did last and my life [was] not cut off, there was some hope. And so I was helped to seek after him and to make my desires known, tho in a weak manner. And I thought to make known my estate to some. But I did not make my mind known to my parents, for I have had many sad fears. And [I had] fears of death that when I did lie down I should never rise again. And [I feared the Lord might] take away my life, as

[if] it were insensible. But, going to the fields to recover myself - there being a youth [who] used to keep cattle [there] - [I], finding him often keeping of catechism,<sup>491</sup> [heard this time] the Lord doth brake off [the] soul from sin by contrition and [the] self by humiliation. And here [he] showed how the Lord leaves the soul to be wearied in [i.e., with] itself, and [the] end was to bring off [the] soul from [the] self. And here I had some hope the Lord might bring me off [from my] self [and] unto the Lord Jesus. And, thus, the Lord helped me to wait on him and to come to him. And [he] give[s] me strength against my temptations. And, when I was shut up under fears and rebellion, I looked up [to him] by that promise: by [the] blood of thy covenant I have sent out prisoners from the pit. And I saw that if ever any[one] was a prisoner I was. And hence [I was] true to him and wait[ed] upon him. Thus, waiting on him, the Lord gave me more and more strength and spirit to wait upon him, tho [I saw the] impossibility in myself to be carried to anything which is good. And, when I was thus waiting and looking, [I was] full of fears [that] I had no faith and grace. And it was answered. The question was: How may it [i.e., the soul] know it had true faith? Answer. Tho the soul might have many fears, if faith was so built upon Christ, as to save it from greatest evil, [the] wrath of God, and [from] sin, [then it was true faith]. And this last [kind of faith] was when the soul did strive against sin and was at war with sin. And [I

heard] Christ delivered [the] soul from wrath, when it [i.e., he] made [it?] prize [the] favor of God. This did give me some hopes I might have true faith, for I saw [the] word was [the] ground of faith and not [the] word but Christ in that word. And [Christ] had delivered my soul from sin, and set my soul at enmity from it; [he set me against] not only one [sin] but all sin. And so [the] Lord helped me to hope. And so [I] desire to hope still.

## 49.

John Furnell (1608-1673), a carpenter and miller, and his wife, Mary, came from Hartford, Hertfordshire to New England in the 1630's. They settled in Cambridge by August of 1638, when their daughter, Sarah, was born. In 1645, John became a church member and a freeman. Three years later, they sold their home and subsequently moved to Charlestown - in 1652, however, Furnell still owned 100 acres of land at Cambridge. John composed his will a full decade before his death, leaving his estate to Mary, who survived him by twenty-three years.

## Goodman Funnell

The Lord took away my friends when [I was] young and left

me to the care of a father-in-law. And - [he] not being so friend[ly] to us - I desired to go to prentice, being twelve years old. And so [I] was [put to prentice]. But he was one that required no more than labor. And, when my time was out, I went to another brother. And there I was [for] a space [of time]. But, seeing it was not a place for my calling, so I went into Hartford town. And [I] dwelled with a carpenter, where I was a mere stranger and had none to counsel me. And there I acquainted myself with young, rude, and wicked [company]. And [I had] none to restrain or prevent [me]. [I lived that way] until [i.e., for] such [a long] time; [I saw] as [i.e., that] the longer I continued there the more [I was] given to [bad] company [so] that I could not go up and down [the] streets but some[one] or other would be calling upon me. And, continuing so [for] sometime, I thought it was not best [for] a wife, for I should not then [be able to] get clothes. And here I thought of marriage for my own ends. And so I pitched my affections on my wife. And - there being in that town three ministers - the Lord brought [me] to one Mr. Archer,<sup>492</sup> who, when he came, first preached out of Ephesians, showing every man's estate by nature to be dead in trespasses and sins.<sup>493</sup> So that at that time I had some convictions, and I thought I was such a one. But it presently died, and I continued in the same frame. And [I] went not to marriage suddenly. And so I married and was destitute of a house. And in one place there was a godly

minister, one Mr. Goodwin.<sup>494</sup> And [I heard] in his parish I might have a house. But I was loath to live there, because there was not such liberty to sin. But I was forced to live there. And I went to hear him. I [for] sometime [was] never affected. But at last [I was affected by his] preaching out of Matthew 22: [he] saith, Friend, how camest [thou] hither? And [the] man was speechless.<sup>495</sup> So he showed the Lord would one day search all that had not on the wedding garment. And then he showed what many [people] might plead, if the Lord came to reckon, [and asked] what many places could say. And [he asked]: What could Hartford say? And I considered Hartford [and saw] I was one [without the wedding garment]. And so [I] considered I must [go] to hell if I die[d] in that condition. And, he showing how Christ at first would [the remainder of the confession is missing].

## 50.

The narrator of this confession is unknown because the first part of it is missing from Shepard's book.

and after acquainting myself with him and finding him to be one that was weak, yet, [I saw he was] dear to Christ because of his reading and mourning for his kindred. And he would tell me what a mercy it was that I had such

parents, as would instruct me. And so, growing into more acquaintance with me, I did that to him, which I did not to any other [person]. And so I did acquaint him with my estate, fears - especially when I sought God in prayer - and [with] other things which were [the] causes of much sadness. And I took much delight in his company, especially when [I was] more than ordinarily sad and perplexed. But afterward he fell sick of an infectious disease and so was suddenly taken away, which much troubled me that there should be but one in whom I could joy. And I looked on it as a great frown of God. And [I thought] that the Lord would let me lie in my sins or fall into more [sin] out of which I should never recover. But, remembering his [friend's] wants, [I decided] to make use of my parents. Yet I omitted many opportunities of speech with them. But [when I was] alone - being meditating upon my condition, [upon] how vain and transitory life was, and [upon] how soon I might be gone - my mother, finding me alone, began to speak, as at other times. But [she] asked me this question [about] whether I thought I should always have parents present, [asking]: Or must not there be a perishing? I said: Yes. She asked: [What] if the Lord should separate me from [my] parents [and] never [allow me] to see their faces more in this or another life? I knew not why she said so, but I thought it was God's determinate counsel against me. Tho I might have good parents, yet I thought it was God's determinate purpose to separate me forever from God's

presence and his people. And so I continued. Much feeling those terrors, as once I did, I began to comfort myself with vain hopes, [thinking] that, if God would leave me, no man nor angel could change the decree of God. And, reading vain poets, I began to think hell [was] not to be so great as they were nor [was] sin so great. But [I] considered: let their way be dark and [illigible word] if [the] Lord detest[s] them. I saw I must seek God or else, [because] if any sinners [perished?] greater than others<sup>496</sup> I that had such means should have it. At which time God suffered Satan to assault me with many temptations, as from speaking to others so from opening my mind to God. But mother, asking father whether this might not be the estate of one, [viz.], to be afraid to speak to man and God, [thought] that [I should have hope] upon this ground, lest Satan should take occasion to set on [a] sin. [Father] answered: It is true [that] Satan had many wiles to keep his prisoners in awe and bondage; yet, it was sweeter for [the] one in prison if [the] proclamation of pardon [came] to forbear [Satan]; and, lest Satan use them [i.e., temptations] more hardly, a soul should make it known to God [or] else [it] would be under more slavery and bondage. And hence [father] made more readiness [in me to] make my mind known. And also I found my scruples, and one was about [page damaged here] predestination of [page damaged here] that it would be a vain thing to try [page damaged here] for. And [I had that scruple] until by [the] means of a poor man [I was helped].

[I heard him] where diverse [people] meet together. There was [a] question [of] how a man might come to have some comfortable persuasions [that] God had predestined him to life. And so I lifted up my heart. And I desired light and had one; [I heard] from one this was a comfortable sign, when he found in his heart a readiness to forsake his sins and fly to Christ and his blood. And this was a sign of [God's] favor in [heaven?]. After this, hearing Mr. Whiting<sup>497</sup> say: Turn ye; why will ye die?,<sup>498</sup> he showed it was no sin [that I] should stop for Christ, if he [i.e., I] would accept of [the] remedy. Now, from [hearing]: turn ye, turn ye, [I thought it was] but a vehement expression. But [the] Lord's desires were very great; the Lord was unweaned in his request. And so [by] applying that and many [other] things the Lord helped me to make use of it. And I examined what [I thought] was the greatest thing I desired. And I saw it was not any outward things, which were transitory. And [I saw] only [the] blood of Christ would stand him in stead, when he stands naked before the tribunal of God. So by that and other things [I] considered - concerning the covenant [and] remembering it was nothing in us that could provide justification but only laying hold on Christ, feeling misery, and resting on him - I commanded some comfort and some hopes. And I thought the Lord might in his time manifest himself to me. And I found it [was] my desire to fly to that one remedy.

At which time the Lord removed me [to New England].



[The] first sermon [I heard] here I remember this expression [from it]. [The minister said] that many times such was the state of one under misery that he stood between Christ and the devil, Satan pleading it is right that he had been his slave so long and pleading against justice. [The minister said] that such a one [was] between Christ and his sin. Yet Christ would manifest his power at last. And, tho [the] soul could not answer all objections, yet, Christ would answer all [the] objections of Satan and his own heart. [He heard] that, as he had died to conquer sin and Satan, so he would do it. And, hence, [Christ] exalted all [people] that had seen their misery. So [the minister said]: look upon Christ and attend upon the means, which I found to be spoken seasonable to me [because I saw myself] as being in that condition. And, tho I found the Lord manifesting [for] sometime his readiness, [I saw], on the other side, my inability to walk in God's ways. And at that time many other things I heard to support me. But afterward, growing more remiss and the Lord leaving me to see how weak I was if he should withdraw, the Lord left me to [my] looseness and vanity of spirit. Altho I was not at that time very sensible of it, yet some of God's servants, telling me of it, [made me sensible of my looseness and vanity]. I saw such a spirit in them, [who were] telling me what was amiss, that I did submit to their reproof. God also - by other providences, more remarkable, [and by] awaking me by [the] word and especially by [the] return of prayer - [made me see]

that if they fell after [having] light, [if] they lived very long, some misery would befall them. And so the Lord helped me to humble myself before God [and] in regard to that [i.e., my] present state. And [he helped me to seek him] more diligently. And, coming here, [I was] more constantly in [the] exposition of Habakkuk; the Lord helped me to go along [and] to examine myself by what was said. And I found the Lord had done very much for me. As I did examine myself, [I] was thankful for what I did see and [made] to be humble for what I [did] fall short of.

F.<sup>499</sup> Question. When [did] the Lord gave [i.e., give] you some hopes of his electing favor?

# 51.

William Ames (ca. 1623-1689) was the son of the famous William Ames, a Cambridge graduate and an eminent professor and minister in Holland. Although William, the father, planned to take his family to New England, he died in 1633. Joane, nevertheless, carried out her husband's intentions, bringing her three children William, John and Ruth to Massachusetts in 1637. They received a warm welcome - the General Court "gave  $\frac{1}{2}$  40 to Mrs. Ames, the widow of Doctor Ames, of Famour memory." After a short residence at Salem, they moved

to Cambridge where William subsequently attended Harvard College, graduating in 1645. He joined Shepard's congregation before he became a freeman on May 26, 1647. The following year Ames went to Wrentham, Suffolk where he and eleven others organized a Congregational church. William remained at that post, ministering with John Philip - who had married Ames' aunt and been a member of the Westminster Assembly - until he suffered ejection from his pulpit under the Uniformity Act of 1662. He managed, however, to remain a teacher to the congregation for the rest of his life. In 1652 Ames published, at London, a sermon on the Gunpowder plot entitled The Saints Security. In his last years, according to one authority in 1684, he became senile: "Mr. Ames, the son of Dr. Ames is yet living, but strangely disabled for work, by a weakness in head, that he cannot bear discourse, nor able to pray in his family, yet looks well, eats and sleep[s] so its said, he is a little better than he was."

#### William Ames

The first time I took notice of anything the Lord helped me to [come to him]; [it] was [by] the consideration of [the]

misery of [the] wicked and [the] happy estate of [the] saints. It was about that time [when] Mr. Peter<sup>500</sup> preached out of 7 Romans: I was alive without the law, etc.<sup>501</sup> He preached about [the] work of [the] law. And, considering every man that had not [the] work of [the] law upon his soul was in a natural estate,<sup>502</sup> I took that to myself. I [saw I] never had that work of [the] law or [the] gospel. And hence [I] was miserable. And thus I was enlightened. Presently, the Lord was pleased to let Satan come forth upon me with manifold temptations, and all at once, as: 1. that I was not elected, and hence [it was] in vain for me to look after any salvation 2. that it was impossible I should attain to any work of [the] law and gospel, hence, [it was] in vain to set about it 3. that I did apprehend all the power of darkness did resist me, and that I should never have any release 4. that I was young, and, if I would seek after God, it would be time enough hereafter. And, thus, I was almost quite discouraged from seeking after God and mercy. But I could not be quieted. And the Lord removed that temptation, [which suggested] I was not elected, because [I saw] that was a secret to be left with God and [I should come] to attend upon him in his own way. Again [by the] Lord I was helped; [the help came] by a sermon at Salem. [I heard]; tho [it is] impossible with man, yet, with God all things are possible.<sup>503</sup> And hence [I saw] I must wait upon him and I must seek to him. And, again, [I had help with my] third [temptation],

[seeing] by age the Lord did weary men out. [I saw] that I could not be quiet with [my] fears, if eternal death and [the] other death [came] to [the] young, as well as [to the] old. And I saw young ones wrought upon and brought home to God. When these were removed, I saw I had committed [the] unpardonable sin. And this temptation held me a while. But I made [it] known; [I said] something to one [person], who answered me in that particular, viz., that such [ones], as had committed it, [neither] never feared it nor were much troubled for it. And this did fitly answer me. And so I was upheld in seeking after God. But when encouragements came in, [reminding me] that I was born of good parents [and] in [the] covenant, yet, I could not but see I might be Esau's.<sup>504</sup> And hence I resolved and renewed [my] resolution to seek after God. And, when the Lord stirred up my heart to seek after him, [I did]. When Mr. Nor,<sup>505</sup> was preaching out of Revelation: come you that thirst [and take] freely, [I saw] spiritual refreshings are to be had in Christ for all that thirst.<sup>506</sup> And I wondered I [had] never heard it before; I did not think there had been such a place in the Bible. Yet I saw my will was the greatest hindrance. Yet the Lord comforted me, when [my] objections [he] answered. [I saw], when [men were] sinful, Christ saved them that were sinful and felt themselves full of sin, and [I saw] that Christ came to save them that had nothing of their own.<sup>507</sup> And I have no faith. Yet [I] desire after faith. And [I see the] beginning of it. And hereupon -

my soul being encouraged to seek after him - the Lord brought me to this place by unexpected means. And here the Lord kept me full of doubts and fears. [I was filled] not only with temptations but [with] inward corruptions, which, tho I felt [them], yet, I did labor and [pray?] against [them]. But sometime[s] [I was] exceedingly discouraged. And the counsel was to make my complaint known to God in prayer and, if I could not do that, yet, to humble myself before him and to see his ways [were the] most just, tho he should always cast me [away]. And out of [the] first of John [I saw] Christ did manifest himself by [the] works he did on earth, [which] should draw [the] soul to believe on Christ. [I saw] how he went up and down [the country] doing good. And [he was] full of compassion. And [Christ did] much more upon such as were spiritually sick because that was his chief and principle work. And in [the] afternoon Mr. Miller<sup>508</sup> preached [about] it, [saying]: see it is for the good. And [he asked the congregation] to take counsel and to consider of some about [them], which did much help and stir me up. [He said to look at the] orphans, which are helpless, heartless, and strengthless. And [he said] when [the] soul felt itself thus then Christ would not leave [it], which encouraged me, for if any[one] ever were so I was. And so I waited, and so [I began to] seek unto him in means. Then [I] [pleaded?] [with Christ].

## A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

## On Cambridge

Although very little is known about the earliest history of Cambridge, it can be sketched from several sources. The town's records - published by the city council under the direction of the city clerk - are the richest source of information: The Records of the Town of Cambridge (formerly Newtowne) Massachusetts, 1630-1703 (Cambridge, Mass., 1901) provide an interesting, but incomplete, chronicle of the community's earliest, official activities and The Registere Book of the Lands and Houses in the "New Towne" and the Town of Cambridge with the Records of the Proprietors of the Common Lands, being the records generally called "the proprietors' records" [1634-1829] (Cambridge, Mass., 1896) records the distribution of Cambridge land and the sale of personal properties. Unfortunately, there are no comparable church records. Other than the Confessions there are only two extant manuscript volumes of financial memoranda, these are still in the possession of the Cambridge church. Lucius R. Paige published excerpts from them in his History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877, with a Genealogical Register (Boston, 1877); Stephen P. Sharples, however, opened his Records of the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England, 1632-1830 (Boston, 1906) with the annals that Jonathan

Mitchell, Shepard's successor, began in 1650. The town's official business with the Massachusetts General Court can be traced through Nathaniel B. Shurtleff's Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 5 vols. in 6 (Boston, 1853-1854). And the following literary sources - all of which have indices except for Prince's history - supplement the official colony, town, and church records: Thomas Dudley, "Letter to the Countess of Lincoln," in Alexander Young, comp., Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636 (Boston, 1846); James Kendall Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal "History of New England," 1630-1649, 2 vols. (New York, 1908); J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651 (New York, 1910); Michael McGiffert, God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography & Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, 1970); and Thomas Prince, Annals of New England, 2 vols. (Boston, [1755]).

Abiel Holmes' "The History of Cambridge" - which appeared in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 1st Ser., VII (1801), 1-67 - was the first modern history of Cambridge. It is an informative piece but Paige's History of Cambridge, although its readability is marred by lengthy quotations, supercedes Holmes' article. Both histories, because nineteenth century historians loved a good story, are narratives and lack any critical, detailed analysis of the town's social, economic,



and political life. In contrast, Robert E. Wall's "A New Look at Cambridge" in The Journal of American History, LII (1965), 599-605, typifies the more recent community studies, investigating carefully the social and economic basis of the Cambridge franchise and assessing its relevance to seventeenth century Massachusetts politics.

On Shepard's Parishioners:  
Sources of Biographical Information

Biographical information on the distinguished members of Shepard's congregation can be obtained easily from several well-known reference works: Thomas Allen and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography, 20 vols. (New York, 1928-1937); John Langdon Sibley, Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1873-1885); Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, The Dictionary of National Biography, 21 vols. (Oxford; Oxford University Press edn., 1917); and James G. Wilson and John Fiske, Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, 6 vols. (New York, 1887-1889). Samuel Eliot Morison's "English University Men who Emigrated to New England before 1645," Appendix B of his The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass., 1935) and Robert E. Wall's "The Membership of the Massachusetts General Court, 1634-1686," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1965) also provide valuable information on the educated and politically active members of the Cambridge church.

It is, of course, much harder to locate biographical data on the more obscure people under Shepard's pastoral care. Paige's History of Cambridge is the best place to begin the search, for the volume's "Genealogical Register" focuses exclusively on Cambridge's residents and contains a substantial amount of information on them. To supplement Paige's compilation, consult Charles Henry Pope's The Pioneers of Massachusetts (Baltimore; Genealogical Publishing Company edn., 1965). His book is the most complete and reliable secondary source of biographical information on the inhabitants of Massachusetts before 1650, especially its forgotten citizens. The volume, however, is not flawless, and - as cross-checking is essential to accurate prosopography - its facts must be verified by other works: John Farmer, A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England (Baltimore; Genealogical Publishing Company edn., 1969); James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, 4 vols. (Boston, 1860-1862); and the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 127 vols. to date (Boston, 1847- ). Charles E. Banks' Topographical Dictionary of 2885 English Emigrants to New England 1620-1650 (Baltimore; Genealogical Publishing Company edn., 1969) provided the English shire or county from which many of the Cambridge residents originated. And all secondary and genealogical work must be supplemented by the bits and pieces of biographical information extracted from various primary documents. The Records of the Town of

Cambridge is the most valuable source - often revealing a resident's occupation, official appointments, election to a town office, or criminal offences. Similar information, especially on freemanship and an individual's dealings with the Massachusetts General Court, appears in Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. The property owned by Shepard's parishioners can be estimated from The Registere Book of the Lands and Houses in the "New Towne". Their birth, death, and marriage dates can sometimes be determined by consulting Thomas W. Baldwin's edition of the Vital Records of Cambridge, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850, 2 vols. (Boston, 1914-1915). Besides the information gleaned from the Confessions and the financial memoranda Paige published in his History of Cambridge, nothing is known of the early ecclesiastical activities of Shepard's parishioners; Jonathan Mitchell's records, however, reveal some post-1650 information on both their church membership and official church duties. Sharples published Mitchell's records in his Records of the Church at Cambridge. The only extant information on John Stansby (undiscovered by Farmer, Savage, Pope or other genealogists) is in R. Stansby's letter to John Winthrop - published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in its Collections, 4th Ser., VII (1865), 8-9.

## On Thomas Shepard

There is no definitive biography of Thomas Shepard. John A. Albro's "Life of Thomas Shepard" - despite its hagiography - comes the closest to it, filling one-third of the first volume of his editing of The Works of Thomas Shepard, 3 vols. (Boston, 1853). Samuel Eliot Morison's "Master Thomas Shepard," which appeared in Morison's Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston, 1930), is substantially briefer than Albro's biography but much more readable. In contrast to these two scholarly essays, Alexander Whyte's Thomas Shepard, Pilgrim Father and Founder of Harvard; His Spiritual Experience and Experimental Preaching (Edinburgh, 1909) is a work of historical fiction (see William Fenn's review in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XIII (1912), 224-225). Biographical information on Shepard also appears in three doctoral dissertations on him, but they are primarily thematic studies of Shepard's thought: James W. Jones' "The Beginnings of American Theology: John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, and Peter Bulkeley" (Brown, 1970) explores the "Christocentrism" of Shepard's theology; Richard A. Hasler's "Thomas Shepard: Pastor-Evangelist (1605-1649) A Study in the New England Puritan Ministry" (Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1964) examines Shepard's view of the ministry and concludes that its "focal point" was an evangelical mission to the unconverted; and Richard A. Humphrey's "The Concept of Conversion in the Theology of Thomas Shepard

(1605-1649)" (Drew University, 1967) investigates the theological basis undergirding Shepard's preaching on conversion. Humphrey's dissertation - because of its topic - would seem on the surface to be a rich source of information (both factual and interpretative) on conversion. But it is not. The dissertation has only one rather prosaic chapter on conversion per se. Actually, McGiffert's introduction in God's Plot is the most valuable interpretative guide to Shepard's views on conversion.

The best primary source of information on Shepard is his Autobiography, the basic source used by all his biographers. And for assessing the efficacy of Shepard's preaching several Puritan works are of immense value: Nathaniel Morton's 1669 The New England's Memorial (Plymouth, Mass., 1826); Cotton Mather's 1702 Magnalia Christi Americana, 2 vols. (Hartford, ed., 1820); Jameson, ed., Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence; Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal "History of New England"; Edmund S. Morgan, ed., "The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth" in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXXV (1942-1946), 426-444; and John Erskine, ed., Six Sermons By the late Thomas Prince (Edinburgh, 1785). Shepard's published sermons, of course, were central to this study, but there is no need to list the many titles; Samuel Eliot Morison's "A 'Trial' Shepard Bibliography" in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXVII (1927-1930), 347-351, provides an accurate listing. Morison also includes a

finding list for Shepard manuscripts. And Hasler's dissertation includes a complete bibliography on Shepard, amending Morison's work at only one point (see Hasler's Appendix A). There are, however, four pages of Shepard's sermon notes at the Houghton Library of Harvard University which neither Morison nor Hasler cite.

### On Puritanism

Alden T. Vaughan's eclectic bibliography The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1971) and several historiographical essays on Puritanism - Edmund S. Morgan's "The Historians of Early New England" in Ray Allen Billington, ed., The Reinterpretation of Early American History (New York, 1966); Sydney V. James' introduction to his The New England Puritans (New York, 1968); Michael McGiffert's "American Puritan Studies in the 1960's," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., XXVII (1970), 36-67; and Emil Oberholzer's "Puritanism Revisited," in Alden T. Vaughan and George Athan Billias, eds., Perspectives on Early American History (New York, 1973) - preclude another lengthy bibliographical commentary on the literature of Puritanism. The purpose of this note, instead, is to acknowledge the secondary works on Puritanism that provide the necessary "background" for the study.

Modern surveys of English Puritanism furnished an understanding of Shepard's European heritage; the most informative were: M. M. Knappan, Tudor Puritanism: A

Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago, 1939); William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York, 1938); Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (Berkeley, Calif., 1967); and John F. H. New, Anglican and Puritan: The Basis of Their Opposition, 1558-1640 (Stanford, Calif., 1956). For New England, the works of Perry Miller were indispensable, especially his Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650 (Cambridge, Mass., 1933); The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (New York, 1939); The New England Mind: From Colony to Province (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); and Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). And the revisions of Miller's critics - albeit friendly ones - were even more important than Miller's work itself, for they substantially alter the Millerite view of Puritanism. George Marsden's "Perry Miller's Rehabilitation of the Puritans: A Critique," Church History, XXXIX (1970), 91-105, and David D. Hall's "Understanding the Puritans," in Herbert J. Bass, ed., The State of American History (Chicago, 1970) were initially the most influential. But the views of Darrett E. Rutman - as presented in his American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia, 1970) - eventually superseded their influence and supplied much of the intellectual framework for the book.

A few monographic studies were extremely valuable. Edmund S. Morgan's Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea (New York, 1963) provided reliable information on New England's ecclesiastical practices, as did Williston Walker's

The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism (New York, 1893); David D. Hall's The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill, 1972); and Ray P. Stearns and David H. Brawner's "New England Church 'Relations' and Continuity in Early Congregational History," in the American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, LXXV (1965), 13-45. Daniel B. Shea's Spiritual Autobiography in Early America (Princeton, 1968); G. A. Starr's Defore & Spiritual Autobiography (Princeton, 1965); and Paul Delany's British Autobiography in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1969) furnished many insights into the literary nature and historical origins of spiritual autobiography. Alan Simpson's Puritanism in Old and New England (Chicago, 1955) highlighted the centrality of conversion to the Puritan experience, but his book failed to explore the theological or psychological basis of the phenomenon. For those details, "The Means of Conversion" and "The Covenant of Grace" in Miller's The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century must be studied in conjunction with Morgan's Visible Saints; Rutman's American Puritanism; McGiffert's God's Plot; Norman Pettit's The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (New Haven, 1966); and James W. Jones' The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism before the Great Awakening (New Haven, 1973).



## On the Psychology of Conversion

Although the footnotes in the chapter on the psychology of conversion reveal all of the sources useful or pertinent to the study, a further word is in order on the most important of them. Darrett B. Rutman's American Puritanism started me thinking along interdisciplinary lines. Following Rutman's lead, I decided to go one step deeper and read William James' The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature (New York, 1902). It was a fateful step, for this captivating book inspired me to even further study. From James I turned to Edwin Starbuck - who, as James' understudy, performed much of the empirical research for James' book; Starbuck's The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Study of the Growth of Religious Consciousness (London, 1901) furnished several of the specific categories (such as age) that turned out to be central to my study. G. Stanley Hall's Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education, 2 vols. (New York, 1905) and Leta S. Hollingworth's The Psychology of the Adolescent (New York, 1928) tended to confirm the theories of James and Starbuck, and - because their primary interest was adolescence rather than religion - their testimony carried great credibility. But my readings needed updating; interdisciplinary research in history and psychology requires one to keep abreast, as much as possible, in both fields. Walter H. Clark's The Psychology

of Religion (Toronto, 1958) and Erlo Strunk's The Psychology of Religion: Historical and Interpretative Readings (New York, 1959) partially filled the gap and provided some informative commentary on the relationship of psychology to theology. The work of Erik H. Erikson and Norman Kiehl closed it. Erikson's Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York, 1968), despite its Neo-Freudian approach, verified and elaborated upon many of the ideas formulated by the psychologists of the early twentieth century. And both his Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History (New York, 1958) and Kiehl's The Universal Experience of Adolescence (Boston, 1964) served as working models for an interdisciplinary study, one attempting to combine the respective strengths of history and psychology.

## Part I: Conversion: A Case History

### Chapter I: Conversion at Cambridge

<sup>1</sup>In the preface to Thomas Shepard's The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied (1660) in John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard (Boston, 1853), II, 5.

<sup>2</sup>Increase Mather, A Call from Heaven (1679) as quoted in David D. Hall, The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill, 1972), 249.

<sup>3</sup>See James W. Jones, The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism before the Great Awakening (New Haven, 1973) for an analysis of the ministerial differences over conversion.

<sup>4</sup>Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England (Chicago, 1955), 2.

<sup>5</sup>There are very few other extant relations from New England's early history; four of them are recorded in "The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth" edited by Edmund S. Morgan and published in the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXXV (1942-1946), 426-444, and, according to Williston Walker's The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism (New York, 1893), 107, there are at least twenty more in the notebook of the

Reverend Mr. John Fiske (Ms., Essex Institute, Salem). John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, both missionaries to New England's Indians, recorded several native confessions; for further information on these see Neal Salisbury, "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXXI (1974), 49-50. John Rogers published nearly forty relations, all given by his parishioners in Ireland, in his A Tabernacle for the Sun (London, 1653); for an analysis of their content, see J. H. Taylor, "Some Seventeenth-Century Testimonies," Congregational Historical Society, Transactions, XVI (1949-1951), 64-77.

<sup>6</sup>Jesse Lemisch, "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up," in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History (New York, 1967), 3-45. Although for reasons different than those of Lemisch and in some cases before he published the above essay, many historians have focused their attention, albeit not exclusively, on the lives of common men and away from society's elite groups. On seventeenth century New England, the most notable among such studies are: Sumner Chilton Powell, Puritan Village: The Formation of a New England Town (Middleton, Conn., 1963); Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649 (Chapel Hill, 1965); John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York,

1970); Philip Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (New York, 1970); and Kenneth Lockridge, A New England Town, the First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736 (New York, 1970).

<sup>7</sup>For further information on the integration of history and the social sciences, particularly its theoretical implications, see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis (New York, 1969).

<sup>8</sup>On servitude, see Abbot E. Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776 (Chapel Hill, 1947) and Lawrence W. Towner, "A Good Master Well Served: A Social History of Servitude in Massachusetts; 1620-1750" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1955).

<sup>9</sup>William Ames, Jr., was one of two other college graduates who joined the Cambridge church, but their situation differed from that of Eaton and Dunster. Ames came to New England as a teenager, graduated from Harvard, and returned to England to become the pastor of a Congregational church in Wrentham, Suffolk. Ames' return to the English ministry supports Perry Miller's contention that "the large unspoken assumption in the errand of 1630" was "not only would a federated Jehovah bless the new land, but He would bring back these temporary colonials to govern England." Similarly, John Jones, who graduated

from Harvard in 1643, became a member of Shepard's congregation before accepting a pastorate in the West Indies. Miller, "Errand into the Wilderness" in his Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 11.

<sup>10</sup>For further information on women in colonial society, see Eugenie A. Leonard, Sophie H. Drinker, and Mirian Holden, The American Woman in Colonial and Revolutionary Times, 1565-1800: A Syllabus with Bibliography (Philadelphia, 1962) and Edward T. James, ed., Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

<sup>11</sup>As quoted in Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630 (New York, 1954), 77.

<sup>12</sup>Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 5 vols. in 6 (Boston, 1853-1854), I, 228. For further geographical information on Cambridge, see Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 192, 350.

<sup>13</sup>James Kendall Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal "History of New England," 1630-1649, 2 vols. (New York, 1908), I, 54.

<sup>14</sup>Dudley to Lady Bridget, March 12, 1630/31, in Alexander Young, comp., Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636 (Boston,

1846), 320. Cf. J. Franklin Jameson, ed., Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651 (New York, 1910), 90.

<sup>15</sup>Richard Saltonstall intended to build a house at Cambridge, the town assigned him a lot for that purpose, but he went to England in the spring of 1631 and did not return. Increase Nowell remained at Charlestown, William Pynchon at Roxbury, Roger Ludlow at Dorchester, and William Coddington at Boston. John Endicott and Samuel Sharpe, because they had declared their intention to return to England, were originally free from the agreement. See Lucius R. Paige, History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877, with a Genealogical Register (Boston, 1877), 7-8.

<sup>16</sup>See Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, I, 84-85; Paige, History of Cambridge, 7; and Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, 31-32.

<sup>17</sup>For the details, see Paige, History of Cambridge, 2-5, 8-18.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 10-11.

<sup>19</sup>Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, I, 124. On the availability of land in colonial New England, see Kenneth Lockridge, "Land, Population, and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790; and an Afterthought," in

Stanley N. Katz., ed., Colonial America: Essays in Politics and Social Development (Boston, 1971), 466-491.

<sup>20</sup>Their departure to Connecticut involved more than a desire for land: for one interpretation of their other reasons see Perry Miller, "Thomas Hooker and the Democracy of Connecticut," in his Errand, especially 16-18, 23-26. See also Michael McGiffert, God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography & Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, 1972), 89, n6.

<sup>21</sup>McGiffert, God's Plot, 64. For a list of those who came with Shepard, see Paige, History of Cambridge, 35-36.

<sup>22</sup>Prince, Annals of New England, 2 vols. (Boston, [1755]), II, 75. Volume one (Boston 1736) appeared under the title of A Chronological History of New England. Prince cited a manuscript letter, the author of which he did not identify, as the source of his information.

<sup>23</sup>Edward J. Brandon, ed., The Records of the Town of Cambridge (formerly Newtowne) Massachusetts, 1630-1703 (Cambridge, Mass., 1901), 4. The brackets, according to Brandon, indicate that something is missing from or illegible in the original.

<sup>24</sup>Jameson, ed., Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 90. Cf. Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, 111.

<sup>25</sup>Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, I, 175-176.



- <sup>26</sup>McGiffert, God's Plot, 37-40.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., 46-55.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., 70.
- <sup>29</sup>Nathanial Morton, The New England's Memorial (1669), (Plymouth, Mass., ed., 1826), 144.
- <sup>30</sup>Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (1702), 2 vols., (Hartford, ed., 1820), I, 343.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., 69, 75.
- <sup>32</sup>Jameson, ed., Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 107, 201.
- <sup>33</sup>John Erskine, ed., Six Sermons by the late Thomas Prince, A.M. (Edinburgh, 1785), 60.
- <sup>34</sup>Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, II, 55.
- <sup>35</sup>Morgan, ed., "The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth," 438.
- <sup>36</sup>Thomas Lechford, Plain Dealing or News from New England (1642), J. Hammond Trumbull's edition (Boston, 1867), 18-20. On New England's admission practices, see also [Thomas Weld], A Brief Narration of the Practices of the Churches in New-England (1645), reprinted in the Congregational Quarterly, XVII (1875), 261-262; Jameson, ed., Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, 217-218; John Cotton, The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England

(London, 1645), 52-65; Edmund S. Morgan, Visible Saints: The History of a Puritan Idea (New York, 1963), 88-89; and Robert A. Rees, "Seeds of Enlightenment: Public Testimony in the New England Congregational Churches, 1630-1750," Early American Literature, III (1968), 23.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 20-22.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 22. In some churches the members testified in behalf of a candidate after he gave his confessions. See [Weld], A Brief Narration, 261. For information on the origins of the relation of faith, see Morgan, Visible Saints, 93-105.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>40</sup>As quoted in Ola E. Winslow, Meetinghouse Hill, 1630-1783 (New York, 1952), 45.

<sup>41</sup>Trumbull, ed., Plain Dealing, 22-23, see n13. John Cotton insisted that women relate their confessions in private, because an "open confession" was against the "apostle's rule, and not fit for woman's modesty." See Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, I, 107.

<sup>42</sup>Walker, Creeds, 223.

<sup>43</sup>As quoted in Trumbull, ed., Plain Dealing, 151, n252.

<sup>44</sup>Cotton, The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared (1648) in Larzer Ziff, ed., John Cotton on the Churches of New

England (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 263-264). For further information on the debates over the severity and exclusiveness of New England's admission practices, which allegedly resulted from requiring a confession of faith, see Walker, Creeds, 107, n4; Trumbull, ed., Plain Dealing, 21, n12, 22, n13, 151, n252; and Ray P. Stearns and David H. Brawner, "New England Church 'Relations' and Continuity in Early Congregational History," American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings, LXXV (1965), 25, n31.

<sup>45</sup>Trumbull, ed., Plain Dealing, 23, 28-29. The origins of New England's Congregational polity have been debated since John Cotton's day, for the most recent developments in the argument see Perry Miller, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650 (Cambridge, Mass., 1933); Morgan, Visible Saints; Rutman, Winthrop's Boston, 283-285; Stearns and Brawner, "New England Church 'Relations' and Continuity in Early Congregational History," 13-45; David D. Hall's introduction and bibliographical note in the Harper Torchbook edition (New York, 1970) of Miller's Orthodoxy; and Hall, The Faithful Shepherd, 78-86.

<sup>46</sup>See Stephen P. Sharples, ed., Records of the Church at Cambridge in New England, 1632-1830 (Boston, 1906). Paige published excerpts from the financial records in his History of Cambridge, 253f.

<sup>47</sup>Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, 173.

<sup>48</sup>There is no indication that Shepard recorded the confessions in private with the intention of reading them before the congregation, as was the common procedure for women candidates. He copied them into his notebook chronologically, mixing the relations of men and women throughout, and made no notations as to any of them <sup>being</sup> given in private. Unfortunately, there is very little evidence in the Confessions to indicate whether they were related in public or private; only Henry Dunster said: "Dear brethren and sisters in Christ I account it no small mercy that the Lord hath called me to give an account to [you] of that faith and love I bear to Christ, his church, and [his] people." And Elizabeth Green seems to have given her relation in public, for she (like brother Hisdell's wife, of Dedham), panicked and was only able to utter a few sentences. Cf. Walker, Creeds, 107.

<sup>49</sup>R. Stansby to John Winthrop, April 17, 1637, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 4th Ser., VII (1865), 11. See Morgan, Visible Saints, 106-108 and Miller, "Thomas Hooker and the Democracy of Connecticut," in his Errand, 31-33.

<sup>50</sup>Thomas Hooker, Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline (1648), a quoted in Morgan, Visible Saints, 107.

<sup>51</sup>Shepard, however, expected the candidates to the Dorchester congregation to demonstrate publically an

adequate familiarity with the morphology of conversion and to testify to having closed with Christ. He probably maintained, perhaps unconsciously, such a double standard because he had no personal knowledge of their religiosity. Furthermore, some of the Dorchester people based their "comfort of salvation upon unsound grounds, viz., some upon dreams and ravishes of spirit by fits," an Antinomian position that Shepard abhorred and his parishioners avoided like the plague. Hosmer, ed., Winthrop's Journal, 177. See also Morgan, Visible Saints, 100-101, and Shepard's letter to Richard Mather in Albro, "Life of Thomas Shepard," Works, I, cxxvii-cxxx.

Part I: Conversion: A Case History

Chapter II: The Ideology of Conversion

Section i: Shepard's Ministerial Gift

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied (1660) in John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard (Boston, 1853), II, 495-505. See Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia, 1970), 26-47.

<sup>2</sup>David Hall, The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill, 1972), 16-18. Ten Virgins, 17.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 122. For further information on the scholastic understanding of human faculties and their role in conversion see Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (New York, 1939), 280-299. See also Robert Middlekauff, "Piety and Intellect in Puritanism," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXII (1965), 457-470 and Norman S. Fiering, "Will and Intellect in the New England Mind," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXIX (1972), 515-558.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Sincere Convert: Discovering the Small Number of True Believers (1646) in Albro, Works, I, 8.

- <sup>5</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Sound Believer: A Treatise of Evangelical Conversion (1645) in Albro, Works, I, 170.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., 170.
- <sup>7</sup>Sincere Convert, 55.
- <sup>8</sup>Ten Virgins, 135, 190, 596-598.
- <sup>9</sup>See Thomas Shepard, Theses Sabbaticae. Or, the Doctrine of the Sabbath (1649) in Albro, Works, III, 92-96.
- <sup>10</sup>Ten Virgins, 370, 605.
- <sup>11</sup>Sincere Convert, 54.
- <sup>12</sup>See Thomas Shepard, Certain Select Cases Resolved: Specially Tending to the Right Ordering of the Heart (1648) in Albro, Works, I, 326 and Theses Sabbaticae, 121.
- <sup>13</sup>Miller, The New England Mind, 386.
- <sup>14</sup>Thomas Shepard, The First Principles of the Oracles of God (1648) in Albro, Works, I, 346.
- <sup>15</sup>See Norman Pettit's The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life (New Haven, 1966) for an excellent survey of the doctrine of preparation. His work significantly departed from Perry Miller's view on preparation by emphasizing the biblical origins, as interpreted by Reformed theology, of Puritan thought - an approach which subsequently David Hall and George Marsden

applied generally to Puritan ideology. See also Miller, "'Preparation for Salvation' in Seventeenth-Century New England," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, IV (1943), 253-286; Hall, "Understanding the Puritans," In Herbert J. Bass, ed., The State of American History (Chicago, 1970), 330-349; and Marsden, "Perry Miller's Rehabilitation of the Puritans: A Critique," Church History, XXXIX (1970), 91-105.

<sup>16</sup>Sound Believer, 117-125.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 125-130.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 128, 131.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 136, 146-155. See also Ten Virgins, 100-101.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 174-175.

<sup>21</sup>Such language - unthinkable in a twentieth century pulpit - refutes the lingering popular notion, despite the efforts of historians to dispel it, that the Puritans were squeamish and inhibited about anything regarding sex. But Shepard's analogy does reveal that Puritan men considered women to be their inferiors. See Edmund S. Morgan, "Puritans and Sex," New England Quarterly, XV (1942), 591-607 and Lyle Koehler, "The Case of the American Jezebels: Anne Hutchinson and Female Agitation during the Years of Antinomian Turmoil, 1636-1640," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d Ser., XXXI (1974), 55-78.



- <sup>22</sup>Sound Believer, 177-182.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., 190. See Ten Virgins, 111-112.
- <sup>24</sup>Ten Virgins, 309-323.
- <sup>25</sup>Sound Believer, 191.
- <sup>26</sup>Ibid., 194-195. See Certain Select Cases, 325-326.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., 237-274 and First Principles, 346-347.
- <sup>28</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Saint's Jewel: Showing How to Apply the Promise (1655), in Albro, Works, I, 291.
- <sup>29</sup>Ten Virgins, 352-353.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., 353 and Certain Select Cases, 309. See Sincere Convert, 53.
- <sup>31</sup>Ten Virgins, 354; see II, 181-182.
- <sup>32</sup>See Peter Y. DeJong, The Covenant Idea in New England Theology (Grand Rapids, 1945); Everett H. Emerson, "Calvin and Covenant Theology," Church History, XXV (1956), 136-144; William G. Wilcox, "New England Covenant Theology: Its Precursors and Early American Exponents" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1959); and Jens G. Møller, "The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology," Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XIV (1963), 46-67.
- <sup>33</sup>Herbert W. Schneider, for example, simply incorporated Miller's view into his survey of American philosophy. See

Schneider, A History of American Philosophy (New York, 1946), 3-11. See also Austin Warren, New England Saints (Ann Arbor, 1956), 5.

<sup>34</sup>Perry Miller, "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity" (1935), in Errand into the Wilderness (New York, 1964), 60 and Miller The New England Mind, 385.

<sup>35</sup>Pettit, The Heart Prepared, 220.

<sup>36</sup>In his introduction to God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography & Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, 1972), 10-16.

<sup>37</sup>Ten Virgins, 521.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 563.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 290-1.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 619.

<sup>41</sup>Sincere Convert, 51-52. See Saint's Jewel, 291-292.

<sup>42</sup>Ten Virgins, 292-294, 484-485. See 137-143.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 129-134.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 77.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 181-182. See also 254, 282-289.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 78-86. See Saint's Jewel, 295-297.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 119, 169-171, 375-378.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 191, 196. See also, 199-206.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 115-116, 127-128, 609-614.

<sup>50</sup>Theses Sabbaticae, 119.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 121.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 119.

<sup>53</sup>Sincere Convert, 95-107.

<sup>54</sup>Ten Virgins, 115-116. See Evelyn Underhill, The Mystics of the Church (Schocken ed., New York, 1964), 184.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 394.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 560.

Part I: Conversion: A Case History

Chapter II: The Ideology of Conversion

Section ii: The Layman's Reception of  
Shepard's Ministerial Gift

<sup>1</sup>Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (New York, 1939), 386.

<sup>2</sup>Unless otherwise noted, quotations are from Shepard's Confessions.

<sup>3</sup>See Ames, The Marrow of Theology, trans. John D. Eusden (Boston, 1968), 72-73.

<sup>4</sup>Knappen, Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago, 1939), 442.

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Sound Believer: A Treatise of Evangelical Conversion (1645) in John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard (Boston, 1853), I, 174-175.

<sup>6</sup>Murdock, "The Puritans and the New Testament," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXV (Boston, 1924), 239-243.

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Parable of the Ten Virgins Opened and Applied (1660) in Albro, Works, II, 135, 190, 596-598.

- <sup>8</sup>Thomas Shepard, Theses Sabbaticae. Or, the Doctrine of the Sabbath (1649) in Albro, Works, III, 119.
- <sup>9</sup>Sound Believer, 170.
- <sup>10</sup>Ten Virgins, 352-353.
- <sup>11</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Saint's Jewel: Showing How to Apply the Promise (1655), in Albro, Works, I, 291.
- <sup>12</sup>See note 32 of Chapter II, Section i.
- <sup>13</sup>Miller, The New England Mind, 395.
- <sup>14</sup>See Ibid., 280-299.
- <sup>15</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Sincere Convert: Discovering the Small Number of True Believers (1646) in Albro, Works, I, 51-52.
- <sup>16</sup>Ten Virgins, 77.
- <sup>17</sup>Austin Warren, The New England Conscience (Ann Arbor, 1966), 7. Cf. Michael McGiffert's introduction to God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being the Autobiography & Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, 1972), 15-16.
- <sup>18</sup>Ten Virgins, 116.
- <sup>19</sup>Shepard's account of his own conversion conformed to such a pattern. See McGiffert's introduction to God's Plot, 24-26.

<sup>20</sup>See Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia, 1970), 32 and my "Perry Miller: A Note on His Sources in The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., in press.

## Part I: Conversion: A Case History

### Chapter III: The Psychology of Conversion

<sup>1</sup>See Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (New York, 1939), 280-299, 365-397, and Alan Simpson's Puritanism in Old and New England (Chicago, 1955), 2-7, for the traditional way of "explaining" conversion. This is not to suggest that all historians reject a psychological approach to history. In fact, the work of Darrett B. Rutman inspired this study. See his American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia, 1970), 114-120. Psychoanalysis, furthermore, is quite popular. See Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History (New York, 1958); Bruce Mazlish, ed., Psychoanalysis and History (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1963); H. Stuart Hughes, History as Art and as Science (New York, 1964), 42-67; Richard L. Bushman, "Jonathan Edwards as Great Man: Identity, Conversion, and Leadership in the Great Awakening," Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal, LII (1969), 15-46; Joseph A. Dowling, "Psychoanalysis and History: Problems and Applications," Psychoanalytic Review, LIX (1972), 433-450; Fred Weinstein and Gerald M. Platt, "History and Theory: The Question of Psychoanalysis," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, II (1972), 419-434. And the

History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory is a recently founded journal entirely devoted to psychoanalysis.

<sup>2</sup>Both Edwin Starbuck and William James, two pioneers in the psychology of conversion, felt the need to assure the public that a psychological investigation of religion posed no threat to the validity of the religious experience. More recently, Erlo Strunk, Jr., a contemporary psychologist, concluded that one of "the major reasons for the severe paucity of interdisciplinary research in the psychology of religion has been the tight conceptual framework of the psychologist of religion. Often controlled by a behavioristic bias, frequently motivated by a reductionistic wish, and sometimes intoxicated by a crass positivism, he has found it impossible to communicate with those disciplines which move outside the constellation of such assumptions - especially theology proper." See James, The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature (Modern Library ed.: New York, n.d.), 6-26; Starbuck, The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Study of the Growth of Religious Consciousness (London, 1901), 7-11; Strunk, "Humanistic Religious Psychology," in Strunk, ed., The Psychology of Religion: Historical and Interpretative Readings (New York, 1959), 121. Some historians object to the application of psychology to history for methodological



reasons. See Jacques Barzun, "History: The Muse and Her Doctors," American Historical Review, LXXVII (1972), 36-64.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Shepard, The Sincere Convert: Discovering the Small Number of True Believers (1646) in John A. Albro, ed., The Works of Thomas Shepard (Boston, 1853), I, 12.

<sup>4</sup>Psychologist Walter H. Clark wrote a perceptive commentary on psychology's relationship to theology. See Clark, The Psychology of Religion (Toronto, 1958), 200-201.

<sup>5</sup>Allport, The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science (New York, 1942), 59. See also John A. Garraty, "The Interrelations of Psychology and Biography," Psychology Bulletin, LI (1954), 576-580.

<sup>6</sup>Clark, The Psychology of Religion, 188-189. See also Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, "Psychology of Religion 1880-1930: The Rise and Fall of a Psychological Movement," Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences, X (1974), 84-90. For two recent psychological studies of conversion, see Leon Gorlow and Harold E. Schroeder, "Motives for Participating in the Religious Experience," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VII (1968), 241-251, and Joel Allison, "Religious Conversion: Regression and Progression in an Adolescent Experience," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VIII (1969), 23-28.

- <sup>7</sup>Hall, Adolescence its Psychology and its Relation to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education, 2 vols. (New York, 1905). Psychologists, writing in the shadow of Hall, Starbuck, and James, were often content to summarize the findings of these three pioneers. See George A. Coe, The Psychology of Religion (Chicago, 1916), 154-174; Edward S. Ames, The Psychology of Religious Experience (Boston, 1910), 257-276; Francis L. Strickland, Psychology of Religious Experience (New York, 1924), 106-127. Coe wrote an earlier book, The Spiritual Life: Studies in the Science of Religion (New York, 1900), however, which did more than summarize his predecessors, and Elmer T. Clarke carefully researched his The Psychology of Religious Awakening (New York, 1929), compiling a substantial amount of statistical information on conversion.
- <sup>8</sup>Hall, Adolescence, II, 301-302.
- <sup>9</sup>Starbuck, The Psychology of Religion, 224.
- <sup>10</sup>James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 196.
- <sup>11</sup>Erikson, however, applied his identity crisis theory to conversion. See Erikson, Young Man Luther, 40-42.
- <sup>12</sup>Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York, 1968), 16.
- <sup>13</sup>Ibid., 17, 27.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 31.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 23. Freudian psychoanalysis is an integral part of Erikson's analysis of Martin Luther; Erikson is dealing with more than the identity crisis of adolescence. He outlined in Young Man Luther three pre-adolescent crises, two of them in infancy, that determined much of the Reformer's personality and development (pp. 254-257). Unfortunately, this aspect of Erikson's psychological theory is unverifiable by this study of conversion. The confessors revealed no information about their infancy and little about their childhood, and no additional sources of personal information are available on people so obscure. Lawrence Stone's judgement that the historian is "usually unable to penetrate the bedroom, the bathroom or the nursery" certainly applies to this study, which is most regrettable since the Freudian subordination of later life to childhood and infancy is an extremely tentative proposition and in need of further confirmation or rebuttal. See Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," Daedalus, C (1971), 53-54.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 22.

<sup>17</sup>Leta S. Hollingworth, The Psychology of the Adolescent (New York, 1928), 148, 150-151.

<sup>18</sup>Arthur J. Jersild, The Psychology of Adolescence, 2d ed. rev. (London, 1963), 7, 9.

<sup>19</sup>Norman Kiell, The Universal Experience of Adolescence (Boston, 1964), 9.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 44. Kiell prefaced this generalization with an assumption familiar to historians, suggesting that it is the "exceptional person who may write a personal document, but it is the exceptional that illuminates the normal."

<sup>22</sup>Erikson's observation concerning the way in which some people experience the identity crisis interestingly parallels, in many respects, the search of Shepard and his parishioners for divine acceptance, suggesting a uniformity in human behavior quite apart from the particular ideological system to which the individual subscribes. Erikson indicated that the identity crisis can be something that just "'comes upon you' as a recognition, almost as a surprise rather than as something strenuously 'quested' after . . . . a tension which, furthermore, must create a challenge 'without guaranty' rather than one dissipated in a clamor for certainty," which can be protracted throughout life and "never 'established as an achievement' in the form of a personality armor, or of anything static and unchangeable." Erikson, Identity, 20, 24. See also James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 202.

<sup>23</sup>Starbuck, The Psychology of Religion, 28.

<sup>24</sup>Erikson, Identity, 23.

<sup>25</sup>See, for example, Travor Aston, ed., Crisis in Europe 1560-1660 (New York, 1965) and Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen 1590-1642 (New York, 1968, 355-393. For the sociological impact of the Antinomian crisis, see Kai T. Erikson, Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance (New York, 1966).

<sup>26</sup>Erikson, Identity, 22-23.

<sup>27</sup>James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 86-87.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 128.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 145, 154, 158.

<sup>30</sup>Erikson, Identity, 19, 23; James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 172.

<sup>31</sup>James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 131.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 196-197. Almost nine out of ten laymen indicated that preaching or teaching was a factor in their conversion. And over one-half of them associated some form of social pressure, such as encouragement from a parent, spouse, friend or minister, with their conversion.

<sup>33</sup>For information on people who remained outside the church, see Wilford O. Cross, "The Role and Status of the Unregenerate in the Massachusetts Bay Colony 1629-1729" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia, 1957).

<sup>34</sup>Erikson, Identity, 27.

<sup>35</sup>Matt. 16:26.

<sup>36</sup>Allport, The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science, 59.

<sup>37</sup>William James recognized the importance of non-religious ways of establishing one's identity. He wrote: "But to find religion is only one out of many ways of reaching unity; and the process of remedying inner incompleteness and reducing inner discord is a general psychological process, which may take place with any sort of mental material, and need not necessarily assume the religious form . . . . For example, the new birth may be away from religion into incredulity; or it may be from moral scrupulosity into freedom and license; or it may be produced by the irruption into the individual's life of some new stimulus or passion, such as love, ambition, cupidity, revenge, or patriotic devotion. In all these instances we have precisely the same psychological form of event - a firmness, stability, and equilibrium succeeding a period of storm and stress and inconsistency. In these non-religious cases the new man may also be born either gradually or suddenly." See The Varieties of Religious Experience, 172-173.

<sup>38</sup>Luke 12:19.

Part II: The Confessions of Diverse Propounded  
To Be Received & Were Entertained As Members

<sup>1</sup>Jose Glover (d. 1638) was the rector at Sutton in Surrey from 1628 until 1636, when he resigned with the intention of moving to New England. By 1638, he completed his preparations for emigration, which included the transportation of the first printing press to Britain's North American colonies. Glover died at sea, but his wife Elizabeth (who three years later married Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College), five children, and Stephen Daye - the printer Glover engaged to operate his press - all arrived safely in 1638 and settled at Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup>Jer. 7:4.

<sup>3</sup>Matt. 19:26; Luke 9:25.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Jenner (1607-ca. 1676) studied at Christ's College, Cambridge and preached at Heddon in Northumberland County before emigrating to Roxbury, where he became a freeman on December 8, 1636. He succeeded, in 1638, Joseph Hull as the minister at Weymouth but not without some controversy, according to Winthrop: "Divers of the elders went to Weymouth, to reconcile the differences between the people and Mr. Jenner, whom they had called thither with intent to have

him their pastor." Although the congregation had the "good success of their prayers," before 1641 Jenner "not like the place" moved to Saco, Maine. And in 1650 he returned to England, served as minister at Coltishall, Norfolk, 1652-1658, and wrote Quakerism Anatomiz'd and Confuted (Dublin, 1670).

<sup>5</sup>Thomas Shepard - silenced when a lecturer at Earle's Colone, Essex in 1630 by William Laud and later, in 1632, while at another post in Buttercrambe, Yorkshire by Richard Neile, Archbishop of York - preached about a year at Heddon, Northumberland before Thomas Norton, Bishop of Durham, ended Shepard's official ministry.

<sup>6</sup>Matt. 18:11.

<sup>7</sup>I Pet. 2:7.

<sup>8</sup>See confession 29.

<sup>9</sup>See Gen. 4:13-14; Matt. 27:3-5.

<sup>10</sup>Matt. 18:11.

<sup>11</sup>Matt. 5:4, 6.

<sup>12</sup>Mark 9:23.

<sup>13</sup>See confession 41.

<sup>14</sup>II Thess. 1:7-8.

<sup>15</sup>Matt. 19:26.



<sup>16</sup>Luke 9:62.

<sup>17</sup>Prov. 22:3; 27:12.

<sup>18</sup>Isa. 66:2.

<sup>19</sup>I Chron. 22:16.

<sup>20</sup>Matt. 5:4.

<sup>21</sup>Isa. 55:1.

<sup>22</sup>Isa. 40:29.

<sup>23</sup>Matt. 18:11.

<sup>24</sup>Matt. 5:6.

<sup>25</sup>See Eph. 2:7; Col. 1:27; 2:2-3.

<sup>26</sup>See confession 6.

<sup>27</sup>James 1:22-23.

<sup>28</sup>II Pet. 1:19.

<sup>29</sup>Isa. 50:10.

<sup>30</sup>See note 1.

<sup>31</sup>Sill either went to Heddon to hear Thomas Shepard preach or, if it was after Shepard's ejection from there, heard him in the Newcastle area, which was only five miles from Heddon. See note 5.

<sup>32</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>33</sup>Rom. 6:14.

<sup>34</sup>Ezek. 36:26.

<sup>35</sup>Col. 3:1.

<sup>36</sup>See confession 5.

<sup>37</sup>See confession 44.

<sup>38</sup>Samuel Hieron (1576?-1617) attended King's College, Cambridge and took orders about 1600. He became an eminent preacher at London - probably where Joanna Sill expected to hear him preach - but soon accepted a post at Modbury in Devonshire, where he remained until his death. He published numerous works, perhaps including an anonymous pamphlet printed in Holland in 1607 entitled A Defence of the Minister's Reasons for Refusal of Subscription to the Booke of Common Prayer.

<sup>39</sup>One usage of falling at this time was to pass suddenly, accidentally, or in the course of events, into a certain bodily or mental condition or into some external condition or relation, such as falling into an acquaintance with a Leveller. See The Oxford English Dictionary (London, 1933).

<sup>40</sup>Robert Jenison (1584?-1652) studied at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow in 1607.

He subsequently acquired a D.D. and seems to have acted for a time as domestic chaplain in the family of Henry, sixth earl of Kent - probably the position he held when he came to London to preach in Samuel Hieron's absence. In 1622, he became a lecturer at All Saints in Newcastle, Northumberland where he remained until he was suspended for nonconformity in 1639. During the English Civil War, he regained his former position.

<sup>41</sup>Matt. 11:21-24.

<sup>42</sup>See note 1.

<sup>43</sup>Jer. 15:6.

<sup>44</sup>Matt. 18:11.

<sup>45</sup>Matt. 9:12-13; Mark 2:17; I Tim. 1:15.

<sup>46</sup>Matt. 25:11.

<sup>47</sup>Shepard first wrote "tho shee neglected dutyes" but subsequently inserted "did not," forgetting to cross out the ed on neglected. For readability the ed has been dropped.

<sup>48</sup>Matt. 25:8.

<sup>49</sup>Isa. 28:16.

<sup>50</sup>Lam. 3:39.

<sup>51</sup>Luke 1:45.

<sup>52</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>53</sup>Matt. 5:6, 10-11.

<sup>54</sup>See Song of Sol. 1:3.

<sup>55</sup>For Thomas Shepard's reaction to Eaton's behavior see Michael McGiffert's God's Plot: The Paradoxes of Puritan Piety, Being The Autobiography & Journal of Thomas Shepard (Amherst, 1972), 68-69, 92-93, 211.

<sup>56</sup>Amos 4:12.

<sup>57</sup>Amos 4:9.

<sup>58</sup>See Gen. 27:34-41.

<sup>59</sup>Luke 11:24-26.

<sup>60</sup>Acts 8:14-24.

<sup>61</sup>William Ames (1576-1633) studied at Christ's College, Cambridge where he became a convinced Puritan, refusing to wear the surplice in the college chapel and, theologically, adopting predestination and covenant theology from the Reformed traditions of Calvin, Luther and others. Forbidden by the Bishop of London to preach at Colchester, he emigrated to Leyden. In Holland, Ames refuted Grevinchovius, an Arminian minister, served as a professor and pastor, and wrote several theological

tracts - among them his Medulla Theologiae (Amsterdam, 1623), a work highly acclaimed by some New England ministers.

<sup>62</sup>Rev. 3:20.

<sup>63</sup>John 14:21.

<sup>64</sup>Rev. 2:4.

<sup>65</sup>I Sam. 12:22.

<sup>66</sup>See Matt. 13:18-23; Mark 4:3-8; Luke 8:5-8.

<sup>67</sup>Possibly John Cotton (1584-1652), a Cambridge graduate and minister at St. Botolph's Church at Boston in Lincolnshire, who came to the Bay in 1633 and became the teacher of the church at Boston.

<sup>68</sup>John Wilson (1588?-1667), a graduate of King's College, Cambridge, preached at Sudbury in Suffolk County from 1618 until 1630, when he emigrated to Massachusetts and became the pastor of the church at Boston.

<sup>69</sup>See Rom. 8:28-33.

<sup>70</sup>Jer. 31:18.

<sup>71</sup>See confession 11.

<sup>72</sup>Isa. 30:21.

<sup>73</sup>See Prov. 11:25.

<sup>74</sup>Matt. 20:15.

<sup>75</sup>Mark 3:1-6.

<sup>76</sup>See confession 10.

<sup>77</sup>John Rogers (1572?-1636), a Cambridge graduate and the author of The Doctrine of Faith (London, 1627), which reached a seventh edition in 1638, served as the vicar of Dedham in Essex from 1605 until his death, although suspended for nonconformity between 1629 and 1631. He was reputed to be "one of the most awakening preachers of the age."

<sup>78</sup>See note 68.

<sup>79</sup>See Isa. 64:8.

<sup>80</sup>Mark 5:25-34; Luke 8:43-48.

<sup>81</sup>Hos. 2:14.

<sup>82</sup>See Exod. 33:19; Rom. 9:15.

<sup>83</sup>Isa. 56:8.

<sup>84</sup>Matt. 23:37.

<sup>85</sup>Isa. 30:7.

<sup>86</sup>Isa. 30:15.

<sup>87</sup>Isa. 44:21-23.

- <sup>88</sup>Isa. 45:22.
- <sup>89</sup>Isa. 42:16.
- <sup>90</sup>Isa. 46:12.
- <sup>91</sup>Isa. 27:4-5.
- <sup>92</sup>See Acts 4:12; I Thess. 5:9; Heb. 5:9; II Pet. 3:15.
- <sup>93</sup>Hos. 14:3.
- <sup>94</sup>John 1:12.
- <sup>95</sup>John 1:14.
- <sup>96</sup>John 7:37.
- <sup>97</sup>I John 2:15.
- <sup>98</sup>Rev. 22:17. See 21:6.
- <sup>99</sup>Matt. 11:28.
- <sup>100</sup>Matt. 5:3.
- <sup>101</sup>See Col. 1:13.
- <sup>102</sup>See confession 20.
- <sup>103</sup>II Thess. 1:8.
- <sup>104</sup>I Thess. 5:7-8.
- <sup>105</sup>I Pet. 5:5.

- <sup>106</sup>Henry Langley (1611-1679), a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford and subsequently a Presbyterian leader, became the rector of St. Mary, Newington, Surrey in 1643. Stedman lived in Surrey County while employed by Jose Glover, minister at Sutton, and may have heard Langley preaching in the area around 1637 - before he officially received the St. Mary's appointment - or in the nearby Oxford vicinity.
- <sup>107</sup>See Job 1:6-12.
- <sup>108</sup>See note 67.
- <sup>109</sup>Cotton consistently warned his parishioners against relying on a "Covenant of Works." Anne Hutchinson and others, however, carried his views to antinomian conclusions, which disrupted Massachusetts for two years before Stedman arrived in 1638. See Emery Battis, Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony (Chapel Hill, 1962) for a very readable narrative of the controversy and David D. Hall, ed., The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: A Documentary History (Middletown, 1968) for the documents produced by what was, indeed, a crisis in a relatively new society.
- <sup>110</sup>See confession 33.
- <sup>111</sup>Mother-in-law in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries



was a synonym for stepmother. See The Oxford English Dictionary (London, 1933).

<sup>112</sup>See notes 67 and 109.

<sup>113</sup>Thomas Weld (1595-1661), a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, came to New England in 1632 and became the first pastor of the church at Roxbury. During the Antinomian Controversy, he actively opposed the dissenters and participated in their trial. In 1641, he returned to England with Hugh Peter as agent for the colony and remained there, serving from 1649 until his death as the rector of St. Mary's church in Newcastle.

<sup>114</sup>Jer. 3:22.

<sup>115</sup>See I John 5:7-8.

<sup>116</sup>Gen. 38:18.

<sup>117</sup>Mark 1:40-45.

<sup>118</sup>See confession 28.

<sup>119</sup>Richard Rogers (1550?-1618), a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, preached at Wethersfield in Essex County from 1577 until his death, although periodically he was suspended for nonconformity. Rogers was a prominent figure in the Puritan movement; his Seven Treatises, published in 1603, has been called the "first important exposition of the code of behavior which

expressed the English Calvinist, or, more broadly speaking, the Puritan, conception of the spiritual and moral life." See William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York, 1938), 36.

<sup>120</sup>Luke 12:59.

<sup>121</sup>William Greenhill (1591-1671), a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford and author of several religious tracts, held livings at New Shoreham, Sussex and Norwich, Norfolk, encountering trouble at the latter for refusing to read The Book of Sports (London, 1618). He subsequently, about 1633, moved to London and became the afternoon preacher to the congregation at Stepney, while Jeremiah Burroughes ministered in the morning; they were called the "Morning Star" and the "Evening Star of Stepney."

<sup>122</sup>I Cor. 6:9-10.

<sup>123</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>124</sup>See Heb. 4:16.

<sup>125</sup>See Ps. 36:9; Jer. 17:13-14; Rev. 21:6.

<sup>126</sup>See I Kings 4:25.

<sup>127</sup>See Matt. 4:8-9.

<sup>128</sup>See Ps. 64:5-7.

<sup>129</sup>Rev. 3:17.

<sup>130</sup>See confession 34.

<sup>131</sup>See confession 42.

<sup>132</sup>See Rev. 7:14.

<sup>133</sup>John 1:14.

<sup>134</sup>Ps. 45:2.

<sup>135</sup>See Isa. 63:9.

<sup>136</sup>See John 13:4-17.

<sup>137</sup>Num. 22:24-26.

<sup>138</sup>See John 21:7.

<sup>139</sup>John 13:19.

<sup>140</sup>See Matt. 26:50-52; Mark 14:47-50; Luke 22:50-51;  
John 18:10-11.

<sup>141</sup>Matt. 25:1-13.

<sup>142</sup>Boote at this time could mean advantage or profit. See  
The Oxford English Dictionary (London, 1933).

<sup>143</sup>See confession 7.

<sup>144</sup>Mark 16:7.

<sup>145</sup>Isa. 35:4.

<sup>146</sup>Gal. 5:6; 6:15.

<sup>147</sup>Matt. 7:16-20.

<sup>148</sup>Rom. 14:23.

<sup>149</sup>Ezekiel Culverwell (d. 1631), educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, served as the rector of Great Stambridge, 1592-1609, and later as the vicar of Felstead in Essex. In 1623 he published A Treatise of Faith (London), which in 1633 reached a seventh edition.

<sup>150</sup>Rom. 8:28.

<sup>151</sup>Ps. 50:15.

<sup>152</sup>Thomas Hooker (1586?-1647) received both his degrees from Emmanuel College, Cambridge and from 1609 to 1618 was Dixie fellow there. About 1620 he became rector of Esher, Surrey and six years later the lecturer at St. Mary's, Chelmsford, when William Laud silenced him in 1630. He went to Holland in 1631 and to New England in 1633, preaching at Newtown until his removal to Hartford in 1636.

<sup>153</sup>See note 67.

<sup>154</sup>Acts 3:8-9.

<sup>155</sup>See II Kings 21:1-18.

<sup>156</sup>Isa. 1:18.

<sup>157</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>158</sup>See note 77.

<sup>159</sup>Rom. 1:17.

<sup>160</sup>Zech. 3:2.

<sup>161</sup>Prov. 18:10.

<sup>162</sup>Isa. 43:2.

<sup>163</sup>See Exod. 14:13; II Chron. 20:17.

<sup>164</sup>See Ps. 119:57; 152:5; Lam. 3:24.

<sup>165</sup>Matt. 25:14-30.

<sup>166</sup>John 6:37.

<sup>167</sup>Luke 12:19.

<sup>168</sup>See confession 13.

<sup>169</sup>Isa. 50:10.

<sup>170</sup>Rom. 7:19-20.

<sup>171</sup>See note 113.

<sup>172</sup>See Matt. 7:24-27; 16:18; Luke 6:47-49.

<sup>173</sup>Rom. 14:23.

<sup>174</sup>Isa. 56:3-7.

<sup>175</sup>See Gen. 22:1-18.

<sup>176</sup>Peter Bulkeley (1583-1659), a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, emigrated to New England in 1636. After a short residence at Cambridge, he moved "further into the Woods" and helped settle Concord, accepting a position as teacher in their newly established church. He remained active in Massachusetts affairs, participating in the Synod of 1637 which dealt with some ninety Antinomian "errours," and published The Gospel Covenant (London) in 1646.

<sup>177</sup>Gen. 17:2-3.

<sup>178</sup>See note 67.

<sup>179</sup>Rev. 10:1. John Cotton preached a series of sermons on Revelation in the late 1630's and early 1640's. Shepard took notes on his earliest and unpublished sermons - the notes are in the same book as the Confessions. Cotton's later sermons on the Apocalypse were published; for the details, see Everett H. Emerson's John Cotton (New York, 1965), 95-105.

<sup>180</sup>John 5:2-9.

<sup>181</sup>Unidentifiable.

<sup>182</sup>For books written on repentance see Robert Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1824), IV, under "Repentance."

183 Luke 15:7.

184 Ps. 113:4.

185 I Pet. 1:17-19.

186 Song of Sol. 1:3.

187 Isa. 11:1-9.

188 Exod. 20:9; Deut. 5:13.

189 Probably Richard Rolle's The Arte or Crafte to Lyve well and to Dye well (n.p., 1503) but there are several books with slightly varying titles that may have been the volume Trumbull read. See Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, III, under "Dying," IV, under "Living."

190 I John 2:1.

191 I John 2:3-5; 3:24.

192 Obadiah Sedgwick (1600?-1658), a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford and author of several religious treatises, received his first preferment in 1630 as the lecturer at St. Mildred's Church, Bread Street, London. Because of his Puritanism, he had to accept a different pastorate - he became the vicar at Coggeshall, Essex in 1639 - but at the opening of the Long Parliament he regained his lectureship at St. Mildred's.

Possibly Trumbull heard John Sedgwick (1601?-1643), Obadiah's younger brother and also a graduate of

Queen's College, who preached for a short while sometime in the 1630's at St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London.

<sup>193</sup>Matt. 26:69-75; Mark 14:66-72; Luke 22:55-62; John 18:25-27.

<sup>194</sup>Matt. 19:30.

<sup>195</sup>John Carter (1554-1635), the author of A Plaine and Compendious Exposition of Christ's Sermon on the Mount (London, 1627), studied at Clare Hall, Cambridge and became vicar of Bramford, Suffolk in 1583. Although he performed his pastoral duties with zeal, many in his congregation resented his Puritanism. His bishop, therefore, transferred him to the rectory of Belstead, also in Suffolk, in 1617.

<sup>196</sup>See note 119.

<sup>197</sup>Deut. 5:27.

<sup>198</sup>Gen. 22:1-18. See Gen. 17:15-21.

<sup>199</sup>Matt. 5:20.

<sup>200</sup>Matt. 5:4, 6.

<sup>201</sup>George Phillips (1593-1644), the author of A Reply to a Confutation of some grounds for Infant Baptisme (London, 1645), graduated from Caius College, Cambridge in 1617 and accepted a pastorate at Boxted in Essex. By 1629



Phillips resolved to go to Massachusetts, and in April 1630 he sailed on the Arbella - one of the signers, and perhaps author, of The Humble Request, which was dated on the eve of their departure and printed the same year. After a short residence at Charlestown, he became the minister of the newly formed church at Watertown, drafting its covenant, where he remained until his death.

<sup>202</sup> Probably Daniel Dyke's The Mystery of Self-Deceiving; or, A Discourse of the Deceitfulness of Man's Heart (London, 1615).

<sup>203</sup> Ps. 16:6.

<sup>204</sup> II Thess. 1:7-8.

<sup>205</sup> Lewis Bayly's The Practice of Piety attained extraordinary popularity; although the date and place of its first publication is not known, it reached a third edition in 1613, an eleventh in 1619, a twenty-fifth in 1630, a fifty-ninth in 1735, and a seventy-fifth in 1842. And its influence transcended the English-speaking world: the work was translated into French in 1625, German in 1629, Welsh in 1630, Polish in 1647, Romaunsch in 1668, and in 1665 an edition for Indians came off New England's Cambridge press.

<sup>206</sup> William Perkins (1558-1602), the author of An Exposition of the Symbole or Creede of the Apostles (Cambridge,

1595) and numerous other theological tracts, graduated from Christ's College, Cambridge, where he became a fellow upon receiving his M.A. in 1584. Although he maintained his fellowship until 1594, churning out book after book, Perkins still had time to preach and lecture in the area. Thomas Goodwin, a prominent member of the Westminster Assembly, recalled that when he went to Christ's College in 1613 "the Town was then filled with the discourse of the Power of Mr. Perkins his Ministry, still fresh in Mens Memories," though Perkins was already ten years in the grave.

<sup>207</sup>Exod. 3:1-5. See Mark 12:26; Luke 20-37; Acts 7:30-35.

<sup>208</sup>See Matt. 7:13-14.

<sup>209</sup>Phil. 4:22.

<sup>210</sup>Matt. 13:45-46.

<sup>211</sup>See Rom. 7:24.

<sup>212</sup>See confession 23.

<sup>213</sup>I John 3:1.

<sup>214</sup>Ibid.

<sup>215</sup>Zeph. 1:12.

<sup>216</sup>Ezod. 20:9-10; Deut. 5:13-14.

<sup>217</sup>II Pet. 1:10.

218 II Kings 20:1-6.

219 I Pet. 2:24.

220 Matt. 11:28.

221 Isa. 1:18.

222 Matt. 13:45-46.

223 Ps. 110:3.

224 Hos. 2:19.

225 Jer. 8:22.

226 See Isa. 64:11-12.

227 Isa. 27:9.

228 Matt. 19:27; Luke 5:11.

229 See John 13:33-38; 16:16-20.

230 See confession 46.

231 Exod. 20:4-6.

232 Ps. 34:8.

233 Rom. 7:13.

234 Jer. 31:13 and Isa. 57:18.

235 Prov. 13:4.

<sup>236</sup>See II Cor. 5:14-15.

<sup>237</sup>James 1:27.

<sup>238</sup>James 2:10.

<sup>239</sup>See Rom. 8:13.

<sup>240</sup>Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680), a graduate of Catherine Hall, Cambridge and the author of several religious treatises, became a lecturer at Trinity Church, Cambridge in 1628. In 1634 he resigned his position, being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, but continued to preach in London until he moved to Holland in 1639, accepting the pastorate of the English church at Arnheim. At the beginning of the Long Parliament he returned to London and in 1643 became the foremost Independent at the Westminster Assembly.

Hamlet may have heard John Goodwin (1594?-1665), a graduate of Queens' College, Cambridge and pamphleteer, who preached in several Norfolk towns and after 1632 at St. Stephen's in London, where he remained until he was ejected in 1645 for his rigid Independency.

<sup>241</sup>See note 176.

<sup>242</sup>See Hos. 10:11.

<sup>243</sup>See Rom. 5:10.

<sup>244</sup>Lev. 26:21.

<sup>245</sup>See Luke 23:46.

<sup>246</sup>See I Tim. 1:15.

<sup>247</sup>See confession 15.

<sup>248</sup>Luke 12:20.

<sup>249</sup>John Shaw (1608-1672), a graduate of Christ's College, Cambridge, and author of several religious tracts, in the 1630's held lectureships at Brampton, Derbyshire (1630-1633), Chumleigh, Devonshire (1633-1636) - a post subsidized by London merchants with Puritan sympathies, and Allhallows-on-the-Pavement, Yorkshire.

<sup>250</sup>John 13:29-31.

<sup>251</sup>Ezek. 44:1-2.

<sup>252</sup>See confession 2.

<sup>253</sup>See confession 26.

<sup>254</sup>See confession 46.

<sup>255</sup>Rom 6:23.

<sup>256</sup>See Matt. 9:12-13; Mark 2:17; I Tim. 1:15.

<sup>257</sup>Matt. 5:3.

<sup>258</sup>Samuel Whiting (1597-1679), a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and author of a few religious

pamphlets, was the minister at Lynn, Norfolk and Skirbeck, Lincolnshire, but after two prosecutions for nonconformity he emigrated to New England, where he became the preacher at Lynn from 1636 until his death.

259 Matt. 5:6.

260 Isa. 30:18.

261 Isa. 55:1.

262 Isa. 54:8.

263 Isa. 55:7.

264 Jonathan Burr (ca. 1604-1641), a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, preached at Rickinghall, Suffolk before coming to New England in 1639. Although there was some question about his orthodoxy in regard to "familism," Burr became Richard Mather's assistant at Dorchester in 1640.

265 Ps. 130:1.

266 Mic. 6:8.

267 II Cor. 5:19.

268 Isa. 43:24-25.

269 Isa. 40:29.

270 Exod. 39:32, 42-43.

271<sup>1</sup>See Isa. 38:14.

272<sup>2</sup>Isa. 1:18.

273<sup>3</sup>There were at least four Smiths that published sermons which might have appealed to Crackbone: Henry Smith (1550?-1591), John Smith (1563-1616), Miles Smith (d. 1624), and Samuel Smith (1584-1662). See The Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1917) for information about their lives and publications.

274<sup>4</sup>Ps. 86:11. Although the Plymouth church sang from Henry Ainsworth's The Book of Psalmes (Amsterdam, 1612) until 1692, the Bay churches relied on The Whole Book of Psalmes: collected into English meeter by T. Sternhold, J. Hopkins, and others (London, 1562) - often bound with the Geneva Bible - until Richard Mather, and others, composed The Bay Psalm Book (Cambridge, Mass., 1640), which nearly every congregation in Massachusetts adopted.

275<sup>5</sup>Matt. 3:11.

276<sup>6</sup>Exod. 34:6.

277<sup>7</sup>See confession 14.

278<sup>8</sup>See note 40.

279<sup>9</sup>Isa. 26:3.

280<sup>10</sup>See Note 67.

281 See Rev. 6:2; 19:11. See note 179.

282 Isa. 38:14.

283 See confession 42.

284 See confession 17.

285 Eccles. 12:13.

286 There are no identifiable Rodwells in England or New England at this time; therefore, he was not a college student or author and must have been one of her friends or a layman in an English congregation. If, however, Shepard erred and should have written Rockwell, there were several Englishmen - all laymen without a college education - by that name who subsequently came to New England. See James Savage's A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, 4 vols. (Boston, 1861).

287 Matt. 25:1-13.

288 I Tim. 1:15.

289 See Matt. 9:12-13; Mark 2:17.

290 Luke 4:18.

291 Matt. 11:28.

292 John 6:37.



<sup>293</sup>Jer. 2:13.

<sup>294</sup>See note 152.

<sup>295</sup>Hos. 6:1.

<sup>296</sup>See Ps. 147:2; Isa. 11:12; 56:8.

<sup>297</sup>See confession 7.

<sup>298</sup>Nathaniel Rogers (1598-1655), a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and son of John Rogers (see note 75), preached at Becking, Essex and Assington, Suffolk before coming to Massachusetts in 1636. He participated in the Synod of 1637 and the next year joined John Norton at Ipswich, serving as one of their pastors until his death.

<sup>299</sup>Ezekiel Rogers (1590-1660), a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge and son of Richard Rogers (see note 115), served as chaplain to Sir Francis Barrington, who appointed him to the benefice of Rowley in Yorkshire. After preaching there for about twenty years, he was silenced for nonconformity and, therefore, in 1638 emigrated to New England. Although urged to settle in New Haven, Rogers preferred to be one of the founders of Rowley, where he preached until his death.

<sup>300</sup>Matt. 15:28.

<sup>301</sup>See note 113.

<sup>302</sup>Jer. 32:27.

303 Isa. 35:4.

304 Exod. 3:5.

305 Exod. 34:7.

306 See John 13:31-32.

307 See Matt. 24:44; Luke 12:40.

308 See Num. 35; Josh. 20:2; 21:13, 21, 27, 32, 38.

309 Hos. 14:3.

310 Isa. 38:14.

311 John 20:25-29.

312 See confession 4.

313 See note 1.

314 Thomas Morton (1564-1659), a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, had a long and prestigious career in the Church of England. Although he held many different posts, Jane probably spoke with him either while he was Bishop of Lichfield, 1618-1632, or Bishop of Durham 1632-1659. Morton was a man of Low-Church inclinations who took no active part in Laud's campaign for uniformity, and he had no sympathy for Roman Catholicism, publishing several tracts against its doctrinal and ecclesiastical views.

315 See note 40.

316 Heb. 13:5.

317 Rom. 9:21.

318 Ps. 25:11.

319 Matt. 8:8.

320 Exod. 33:19.

321 Isa. 40:29.

322 Edmund Frost (d. 1672) came to New England in 1635 with his wife and child. He became a freeman the following year and a ruling elder in the Cambridge church before 1640 - a position he still held in 1658.

323 Ps. 42:5, 11.

324 See Matt. 9:12-13; Mark 2:17; I Tim. 1:15.

325 Isa. 1:18.

326 Matt. 16:18.

327 Isa. 41:17.

328 Isa. 40:29.

329 John 6:68.

330 See confession 7.

331 See Gen. 1:2.

332 Matt. 10:29-31.

333 Gen. 3:14-15.

334 See Matt. 7:20-23.

335 Dunster is warning the people against one of the "errours" of Antinomianism, which allegedly taught that there "is a testimony of the Spirit, and voyce unto the Soule, meerely immediate, without any respect unto, or concurrence with the word." See John Winthrop's A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines (London, 1644) in Hall, The Antinomian Controversy, 230. See also note 106.

336 Mark 11:24.

337 I Cor. 7:14.

338 Matt. 19:14.

339 See I Cor. 11:20-34.

340 See James 2:14-17.

341 Matt. 18:15-17.

342 Connixt or connexed meant connected. See The Oxford English Dictionary (London, 1933).

343 See I Pet. 1:15-16.

<sup>344</sup>See Rom. 6:6; Eph. 4:22; Col. 3:9.

<sup>345</sup>Heb. 8:10.

<sup>346</sup>See Exod. 20:13-14; Matt. 5:21-22, 27-28.

<sup>347</sup>I Cor. 15:25.

<sup>348</sup>Matt. 25:41.

<sup>349</sup>Phil. 3:20-21.

<sup>350</sup>Ps. 40:10.

<sup>351</sup>There are many Hobarts, Hubbards or Hubberts - all obscure - which Dunster may have heard or heard about (the text is not clear as to whether he actually attended a sermon), but it was probably William Hubbock (1560-ca. 1631), who took his B.A. from Oxford in 1581 and M.A. from Cambridge in 1586. Hubbock's sermons were "powerful" enough to bring him before the Archbishop of Canterbury in about 1590. But he was not silenced and subsequently became a chaplain at the Tower of London, lecturer at St. Botolph's, London, and after 1598 the rector of Nailstone, Leicestershire, a county not far from Dunster's Lancashire.

<sup>352</sup>See Rev. 2:5; 3:3.

<sup>353</sup>John Preston (1587-1628), one of the most influential Puritan preachers of his generation and a prolific

writer, secured - after using his influence at court - the lectureship at Trinity Church in 1624.

<sup>354</sup>See note 232.

<sup>355</sup>Gen. 3:5, 22.

<sup>356</sup>Rom. 9:32-33.

<sup>357</sup>Ps. 40:1-2.

<sup>358</sup>Ps. 40:6.

<sup>359</sup>Ps. 40:7.

<sup>360</sup>Heb. 8:10.

<sup>361</sup>Ps. 40:12.

<sup>362</sup>John Dod (1549?-1645), a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge and the author of numerous religious tracts, preached at Hanwell, Oxfordshire until John Bridges, Bishop of Oxford, suspended him for nonconformity in 1604. Dod moved north, preaching for a time at Fenny Compton, Warwickshire, and then at Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire, until in 1611 Archbishop Abbot silenced him. In 1624 he managed to obtain a position at Fawsley, Northamptonshire, where he remained until his death.

<sup>363</sup>Nehemiah Rogers (1593-1660), a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1618 and the author of several

expositions on biblical parables, became the preacher at Messing, Essex in 1620. Rogers was a friend of William Laud and an uncompromising royalist.

<sup>364</sup>See note 152.

<sup>365</sup>Mark 9:43-44.

<sup>366</sup>Gen. 24:63.

<sup>367</sup>Isa. 55:6.

<sup>368</sup>See James 4:4.

<sup>369</sup>Eccles. 12:1.

<sup>370</sup>See Matt. 10:32; Luke 12:8; Rom. 10:9; I John 1:9.

<sup>371</sup>Hoverly at this time meant lightly or slightly. See The Oxford English Dictionary (London, 1933).

<sup>372</sup>Francesco Spira (d. 1548), a civil lawyer and resident of Venice, Italy, accepted the doctrines of the Reformation - particularly justification by faith - and witnessed for the Protestant religion to his family and friends for about six years. But under pressure from the Roman Catholic officials Spira publically recanted in 1548. After reflecting on his "apostacy," he was unable to live with himself, becoming convinced that he was damned, and soon died in extreme anguish. Protestants, of course, found the story an undisputable testimony to the truth of

their religion and, therefore, published many accounts of it. See the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books (London, 1964), 227:670-672 and Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Mooney, National Index of American Imprints Through 1800 (Worcester, 1969), 1:42-43.

373 Samuel Stone (1602-1663), a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1623, ministered at Stisted, Essex until he was suspended for nonconformity in 1630. Through the influence of Thomas Shepard he obtained the lectureship at Towcester in Northamptonshire, where he met Thomas Hooker. Stone and Hooker came to New England in 1633 and preached at Newtown before moving to Hartford in 1636. After Hooker's death, in 1647, Stone remained the only minister of the Hartford church until his death.

374 Isa. 59:1-2.

375 Rom. 7:23-24.

376 Isa. 38:14.

377 Zech. 13:1.

378 See Num. 21:9 and II Kings 18:4.

379 Isa. 64:8.

380 Isa. 55:2.

381 Isa. 55:1.



382 See John 5:1-9.

383 Rom. 7:24.

384 Probably Ezekiel of Yorkshire. See note 299.

385 Exod. 31:14-15.

386 Matt. 5:11.

387 Ps. 119:93.

388 See John 20:25-28.

389 Neh. 1:11.

390 James 4:6.

391 Jer. 7:26; 16:12.

392 Gen. 17:1.

393 James 4:8.

394 Ps. 81:10.

395 Exod. 14:13.

396 See Matt. 11:5; Luke 4:18, 7:22.

397 Isa. 1:18.

398 See confession 3.

399 John 8:44.

400 Exod. 20:15. Cf. Confessions of St. Augustine, Book 2,  
Chapter 4.

401 See Exod. 5:1-23.

402 Matt. 16:24.

403 Num. 21:9.

404 Isa. 45:22.

405 Heb. 9:27.

406 Luke 6:37.

407 Unidentifiable.

408 Matt. 25:1-13.

409 See note 196.

410 Matt. 11:28.

411 See Isa. 38:1-5.

412 Isa. 38:14.

413 Rev. 14:12.

414 Isa. 62:5.

415 Ps. 147:3.

416 See confession 34.

417 See confession 17.

418 John 13:18.

419 Ibid.

420 John 13:30.

421 Jer. 3:5.

422 See Matt. 25:14-30.

423 Mark 14:34.

424 See note 201.

425 See note 113.

426 Richard Mather (1596-1669), who studied at Brasenose College, Oxford but did not earn a degree, came to New England in 1635 after being suspended from his ministry at Toxteth, Lancashire, and forbidden to preach. Mather settled at Dorchester, where he preached and wrote - one of his most important works being A Platform of Church Discipline (Cambridge, Mass., 1649) - until his death.

427 Phil. 3:8.

428 Rev. 3:17-18.

429 Rev. 22:17.

430 See II Cor. 5:19.

431 Jon. 4:9.

<sup>432</sup>Matt. 11:28.

<sup>433</sup>Jer. 31:18.

<sup>434</sup>See Isa. 41:10; 43:5.

<sup>435</sup>See note 152.

<sup>436</sup>Matt. 25:1-13.

<sup>437</sup>John 13:8.

<sup>438</sup>See note 113.

<sup>439</sup>John 19:37.

<sup>440</sup>See Matt. 25:31-46.

<sup>441</sup>Luke 22:42.

<sup>442</sup>See note 40.

<sup>443</sup>Lam. 3:40.

<sup>444</sup>Unidentifiable.

<sup>445</sup>II Cor. 5:17.

<sup>446</sup>II Chron. 32:26.

<sup>447</sup>See Rom. 8:14-15; Gal. 4:6.

<sup>448</sup>Jer. 31:3.

<sup>449</sup>See Matt. 10:42; 18:6, 10, 14; Mark 9:42; Luke 17:2.

<sup>450</sup>See Acts 10:42; II Tim. 4:1; I Pet. 4:5.

<sup>451</sup>See John 3:3.

<sup>452</sup>Prov. 28:9.

<sup>453</sup>Ezek. 18:25, 29.

<sup>454</sup>Rom. 2:5.

<sup>455</sup>Matt. 5:4, 6.

<sup>456</sup>Rom. 11:26.

<sup>457</sup>See Isa. 35:1-2, 6-7; 41:19; 43:19-20; 51:3.

<sup>458</sup>See Ezra 10:2-3.

<sup>459</sup>John Davenport (1597-1670), who received a B.D. from Magdalen Hall, Oxford, disclaimed any Puritan leanings when he accepted, in 1624, the Vicarage of St. Stephen's on Coleman Street in London. But by 1623 he had definitely joined the Puritan wing of the church, and when William Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury Davenport resigned his post, moving to Holland in 1633. Through the influence of Theophilus Eaton, Davenport's lifelong friend, he decided to emigrate to New England. Davenport, therefore, returned to England and sailed with Eaton and others on the Hector in 1637. After a short residence at Boston, Davenport helped establish a new colony at New Haven, where he preached for over thirty years.

460 See Matt. 12:25; Mark 3:24-25; Luke 11:17.

461 See confession 29.

462 See I Sam. 15:23-26.

463 Isa. 43:13.

464 Heating at this time could mean intensity or great warmth of feeling. See The Oxford English Dictionary (London, 1933).

465 See Rev. 21:1.

466 I Cor. 2:9.

467 Probably at Ipswich, Suffolk.

468 Ezek. 16:5-6.

469 Robert Selby (n.d.) received his B.A. from Queen's College, Oxford in 1577 and served as the rector of Bedfield, Suffolk - about four miles from Ipswich - from 1584 until around 1610.

470 Song of Sol. 2:16.

471 Jeremiah Burroughes (1599-1646), a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and a prolific writer, preached at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk - about sixteen miles from Ipswich - from about 1624 until 1631. See note 118.

<sup>472</sup>Nicholas Danforth (d. 1638) came from Framlingham, Suffolk in 1634 and settled at Cambridge. He became a freeman on March 3, 1636, and served as both a selectman and deputy before he died.

<sup>473</sup>Gal. 6:7.

<sup>474</sup>There is no record of a Mr. Rogers being assigned to a post at Colchester, Essex - a town about twenty miles from Ipswich - at this time. There are, however, several of the Rogers name who preached within an eighteen-mile radius of Colchester that may have supplied pulpits there occasionally: Daniel of Wethersfield, Essex, John of Dedham, Essex, Nathaniel of Assington, Suffolk, Nehemiah of Messing, Essex, and Timothy of Pontesbright or Chapel, Essex. All of them were of the Puritan persuasion except Nehemiah, a friend of William Laud. See notes 76, 290, 353, and The Dictionary of National Biography (London, 1917) for further information about their lives and publications.

<sup>475</sup>Col. 3:1.

<sup>476</sup>See Exod. 20:5; Deut. 5:9.

<sup>477</sup>Probably Richard Eccles' question.

<sup>478</sup>Eph. 2:13.

<sup>479</sup>John 3:3.

480 Could be the question of Nathaniel Sparhawk, Robert Sanders, John Sill, John Stedman, John Stansby, or Edward Shepard.

481 Probably Christopher Cane's question.

482 Perhaps Elizabeth Luxford's question.

483 See James 4:8.

484 Probably Edmund Frost's comment. See note 322.

485 John 15:5.

486 See confession 47.

487 Sir, or Dominus in Latin, was often prefixed to the last name of a person with a Bachelor of Arts degree. For further information, see Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 32.

488 Ps. 90:8.

489 See note 176.

490 Isa. 24:5, 17-18, 22.

491 For information on catechisms used in New England see Wilberforce Eames "Early New England Catechisms" in the American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings (1898), XII, 76-182, and for background information on English practices, see Leonard T. Grant, "Puritan Catechizing," Journal of Presbyterian History (1968), XLVI, 107-127.



<sup>492</sup>John Archer (d. 1639) preached at All Saints', Hertford, Hertfordshire from 1631 until his death. He may have been the John Archer who graduated from Magdalene College, Cambridge in 1626. See John Venn and J. A. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922), I, 37.

<sup>493</sup>Eph. 2:1.

<sup>494</sup>See note 240.

<sup>495</sup>Matt. 22:12-13.

<sup>496</sup>See Matt. 10:15; 11:24; Luke 10:12.

<sup>497</sup>See note 258.

<sup>498</sup>Ezek. 18:31-32.

<sup>499</sup>Perhaps the question of John Fessenden or John Furnell.

<sup>500</sup>Hugh Peter (1598-1660), a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, left England about 1629 when William Laud became Bishop of London. He accepted a pastorate - with the elder William Ames - at Rotterdam, Holland, before coming to Massachusetts, where in 1636 he succeeded Roger Williams as the pastor of the church at Salem. In 1641, he returned to England as one of three Massachusetts' agents.

<sup>501</sup>Rom. 7:9.

502 See Rom. 8:1-8.

503 Matt. 19:26.

504 See Gen. 25:25-34; 27:1-41.

505 Edward Norris (d. 1659) - probably the Edward Norris who graduated from Magdalen Hall, Oxford and preached at Anmer in Norfolk - came to New England in 1639. He was soon chosen to assist Hugh Peter as teacher to the church at Salem, where he remained until his death.

Ames may have heard John Norton (1606-1663), who graduated M.A. from Peterhouse College, Cambridge, in 1627 and declined both a good benefice and a Cambridge fellowship because of his Puritanism. Emigrating to Massachusetts in 1635, he preached at Ipswich until 1656 when after a three-year struggle with the Ipswich congregation he succeeded John Cotton as the teacher of the First Church of Boston.

506 Rev. 22:17.

507 See Matt. 9:12-13; 18:11.

508 John Miller (d. 1663), a graduate of Caius College, Cambridge, in 1628, came to Dorchester, Massachusetts, about 1635. He preached at Rowley, probably assisting Ezekiel Rogers, from 1639 until 1641, when he accepted a pastorate at Yarmouth.